

INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

Paris, Wednesday, March 23, 1994

No. 34,543

U.S. and France Work to Blunt the Edge of Low-Wage Nations

By Alan Friedman

PARIS — The United States and France, in a move that could pave the way toward penalizing low-wage developing nations, are planning an extraordinary effort to end what they see as unfair trade advantages for countries that export cheap goods thanks to poor working conditions.

Officials in Washington and Paris said Tuesday in interviews that they were holding talks aimed at reaching a joint position in time for the April 15 signing of the Uruguay Round agreement of GATT in Marrakesh.

The initiative could open a controversial chapter in world trade talks, as it is likely to stir strong emotions among the rapidly growing and export-driven economies of Asia such as Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia, all of which have been criticized in the West as unfair in their treatment of workers.

It could also further anger China, which has applied to join the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and is

engaged in a war of words with the U.S. government over Washington's linking of trade relations with Beijing's record on respecting human rights.

In Brussels, the issue will take center stage Wednesday when Sir Leon Brittan, the European Union's trade representative, presents a report urging that governments at Marrakesh agree to ask the World Trade Organization, the

Asian nations are warned to expect a "misconceived" Western attack over wages and working conditions. Page 11.

successor to GATT, to address the question of union rights, child and prison labor, and related social matters.

Paris and Washington — in a rare display of cooperation on trade matters between governments that fought each other during the GATT negotiations last year — have agreed that the time has come to make the protection of workers' rights a priority item in trade talks. France is more advanced

than the United States in seeking ways to punish nations that violate internationally agreed labor practices.

A French official said discussions with the United States were held during the Group of Seven jobs conference in Detroit last week, "and we are in complete agreement with the United States that we have to find a way for the World Trade Organization to address the issue."

A U.S. official said, "There is certainly common ground between us, although our approaches may differ slightly." The subject will be discussed in Marrakesh in a meeting between Mickey Kantor, the chief U.S. trade negotiator, and Gerard Longuet, the French trade and industry minister. Both men plan to make strong statements demanding that the World Trade Organization be given a mandate to examine the problem.

Peter Sutherland, the director-general of GATT, has made it clear that he has grave reservations about linking trade with what is known as "social dumping," or exporting goods made cheaply through exploitative labor practices.

Mr. Sutherland warned in a speech in Toronto this week against "simplistic demands for drastic trade remedies" that he said bore a striking similarity "to more conventional forms of protectionist rhetoric."

But in Washington, a U.S. official disagreed. "Some people interpret our desire for workers' rights as a protectionist tool, but President Clinton has committed himself to making workers' rights part and parcel of the World Trade Organization," he said. "The president feels very strongly about this. We want this on the agenda."

In Europe, the government of Prime Minister Edouard Balladur of France is being criticized privately by other European governments, who claim Paris is pressing the issue to distract attention from domestic problems such as its record unemployment and social unrest. Several diplomats in Europe contended that France's ultimate goal was to secure new protectionist instruments.

While Britain is seen by delegates to GATT as dragging its

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Fed Pushes Interest Rates Up to Keep Inflation Low

Financial Markets Take Latest Action in Stride; Stock Prices Are Steady

By Lawrence Malkin

NEW YORK — Boxed in by the money markets, the Federal Reserve Board announced Tuesday that it was again pushing short-term interest rates up a notch to try to maintain its credibility as a central bank standing vigilant against inflation.

A two-sentence statement by Chairman Alan Greenspan said the Federal Reserve's policy-makers would put pressure on bank reserves and that "this action is expected to be associated with a small increase in short-term money market interest rates."

The statement implied that the Fed was aiming for another rise of one-quarter of a percentage point in the federal funds rate, which sets the wholesale price of credit, to 3.50 percent. The U.S. central bank raised that rate to 3.25 percent from 3.00 percent on Feb. 4.

The announcement, made in midafternoon, gave a solid boost to government bond prices, as traders calculated that the Fed's move would help rein in the inflationary tendencies that hurt bonds' value. But the action, which had been fairly widely anticipated, had little conclusive effect either on the currency market, where the dollar slipped a little against the Deutsche mark, or the stock market, where the Dow Jones industrial average lost a little ground. (Page 12)

The announcement was issued toward the end of a meeting in Washington of the Federal Open Market Committee, which meets every six weeks to set monetary policy. The date had been circled on every stock and bond trader's calendar ever since Mr. Greenspan broke with Fed precedent on Feb. 4 and formally announced the quarter-point rise in the federal funds rate.

That rate increase set off worldwide nervousness in the bond market, which waited for the next move upward. Bond traders took fright and called for higher interest rates in a time of uncertainty, pushing up rates on 30-year Treas-

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'Terrible Day for Europe' As Expansion Hits a Wall

Scant Hope Left of Meeting Target Date

By Tom Buerkle

BRUSSELS — The European Union's power-sharing dispute turned into a full-blown crisis Tuesday as Britain's opposition to any weakening of its veto power left London more isolated than ever in the bloc and looked certain to force a lengthy delay in the Union's expansion plans.

"It's a terrible day for Europe," said Tom Klitt, Ireland's European affairs minister, after a meeting of EU foreign ministers and European affairs ministers broke up in disarray when Britain and Spain rejected a compromise proposal on voting rights.

Theodoros Pangalos, the Greek European affairs minister, who chaired the meeting, said the Union was facing a "nightmare" scenario if ministers cannot resolve the crisis when they meet again this weekend in Ioannina, Greece.

A failure in Greece would delay membership for Sweden, Finland, Austria and Norway by as much as six months beyond the Jan. 1, 1995, target date, said Foreign Minister Alain Juppé of France.

Foreign Minister Alois Mock of Austria said any delay in the timetable could weaken support for the Union in his country and lead

voters to reject Vienna's membership accord in a referendum later this year, a fear echoed by Swedish officials.

But Prime Minister John Major of Britain, whom EU officials accuse of using the voting issue to buttress his support among the anti-European wing of his Conservative Party, gave little sign of backing down. He said in the House of Commons that he would not be swayed by "phony threats" about delays in the Union's enlargement.

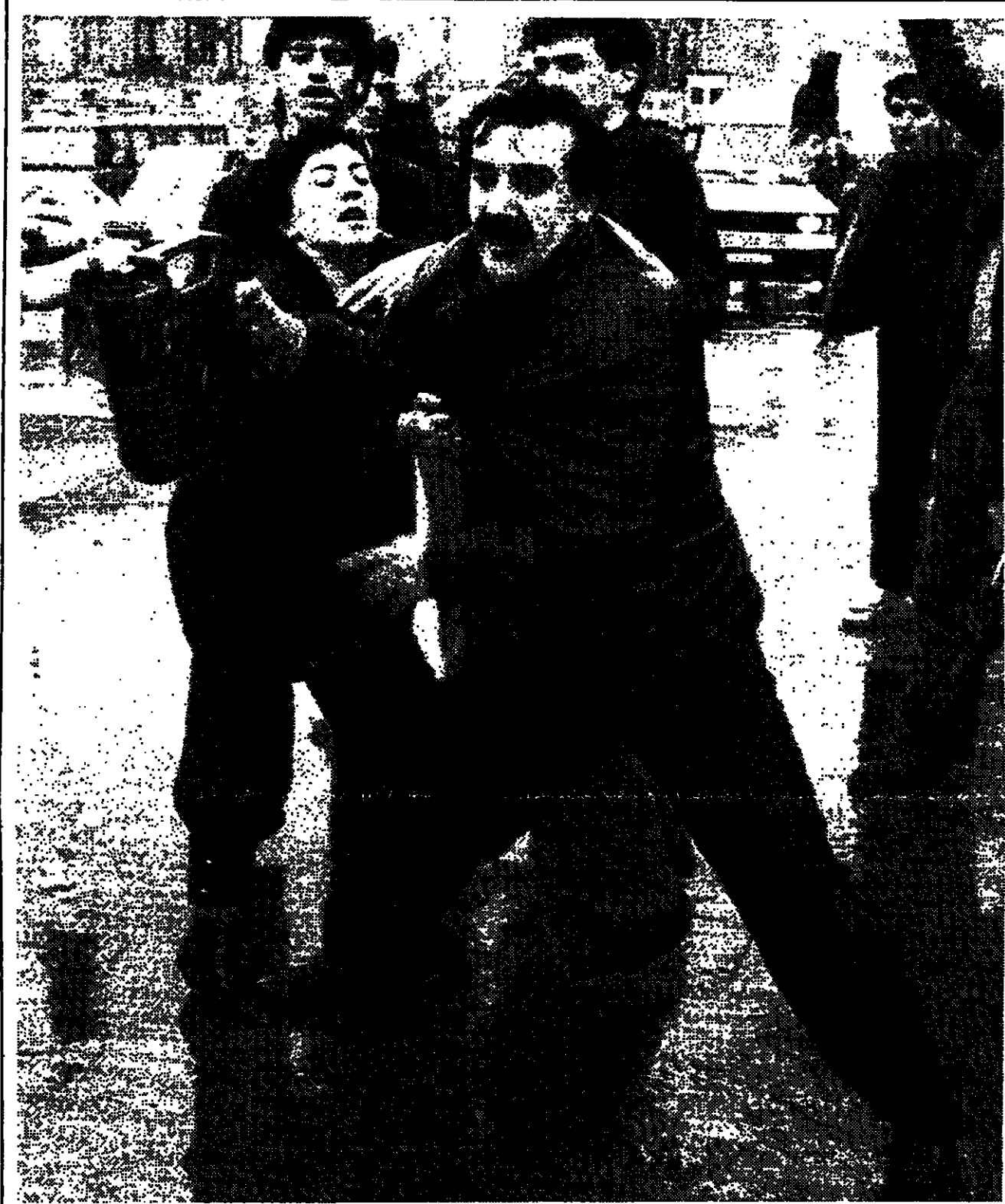
"If there is delay, it will be because two other states have taken an inflexible and doctrinaire line," Mr. Major said. Agence France-Press reported that government sources indicated he was referring to Belgium and the Netherlands. They have been among the strongest backers of plans to weaken the power to block EU legislation as the Union adds members.

Officials in Brussels said positions among the ministers had merely hardened in four meetings over the past four weeks, and they expressed little hope of a solution at the weekend.

"It's better to have a crisis than a bad compromise," said Jacques Delors, the president of the European Commission.

Mr. Delors said the British stance would

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KURDS PROTEST ACROSS GERMANY — Activists restraining a Kurd who doused himself with gasoline Tuesday in Hamburg. Three other Kurds, two of them women, set themselves afire during highway-blocking protests across Germany. In Mannheim, one of those women died; the others were seriously injured. The Kurds say Germany supports repression against them.

Seoul Heightens Security In Face of North's War Talk

By T. R. Reid

SEOUL — North Korea served up more fiery rhetoric on Tuesday in the dispute over inspection of its nuclear plants, complaining in official broadcasts that new military steps by the United States and South Korea had pushed the situation "to a very dangerous brink of war."

South Korea's president, Kim Young Sam, responded by ordering his country's army to a higher alert status. But South Korea's foreign minister, Han Sung Joo, called for calm, and warned that "emotional hard-line policies" toward the North could be counterproductive.

Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher, meanwhile, said Tuesday that the international drive to get full inspection of North Korea's nuclear program was at a crucial stage. Reuters reported from Washington.

"Our diplomacy has reached a critical point," Mr. Christopher told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. "We have made it clear to North Korea that it must become a responsible member of the international community or that community will have no choice but to pursue other options. These other options include progressively stronger measures."

American and South Korean defense officials started planning on Tuesday for the deployment of Patriot anti-missile defenses in South Korea, and for a new round of joint war games. Both measures were agreed to on Monday to send a warning to North Korea for its

refusal to permit full international inspection of its nuclear sites.

North Korean radio said Tuesday, "The order by Clinton to deploy Patriot missiles in South Korea is a grave threat to us. This clearly shows that the United States is leading the Korean Peninsula to a very dangerous brink of war."

In a hint that the United States does not expect immediate hostilities, the Pentagon

An embargo for North Korea? But the nation already does without. Page 5.

chose to ship the battalion of up to 48 Patriot launchers by sea, rather than by air. The slower shipment also gives the North another month or so to yield on full inspections without having to respond to the deployment.

[A Pentagon spokesman, Dennis Box, said the Patriots were a newer version of those used in the Gulf War in 1991. The Associated Press reported. They have greater range, newer software and can intercept missiles at higher altitudes than the older Patriot version. They would be intended for defense of airfields and ports against any North Korean Scud missile attacks.]

It remained unclear when, and even whether, the Clinton administration would press for UN economic sanctions against North Korea.

In Washington, policymakers seem to be acting out of a firm conviction that North

See KOREA, Page 5



OSCARS WILD — Steven Spielberg, the big winner on Oscar night. Page 24.

Klosk Russia Says IMF Releases Loan

Prime Minister Viktor S. Chomyrdin said in Moscow he was able to persuade the International Monetary Fund to release a key \$1.5 billion loan. The lending agency had been worried that Moscow's economic reforms were insufficient to quell inflation and support growth. Page 11.

General News In Juliet's dairy city of Verona, sweet sorrow turns to murderous evil. Page 2.

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Newsstand Prices

Andorra.....9.00 FF	Luxembourg 60 L.	Fr
Antilles.....11.20 FF	Morocco.....12 Dh	
Cameroon.....1.400 CFA	Qatar.....8.00 Riels	
Egypt.....E.P. 5000	Réunion.....11.20 FF	
France.....9.00 FF	Saudi Arabia 5.00 R.	
Gabon.....960 CFA	Senegal.....200 CFA	
Greece.....300 Dr.	Turkey.....1.000 Din	
Ivory Coast.....1.120 CFA	U.A.E.....8.50 Dirh	
Jordan.....1 JD	U.S. Mil. (Eur.) \$1.10	
Lebanon.....US\$ 1.50		

Dow Jones	Trib Index
Down 2.30	Up 0.21%
3,992.55	112.62
The Dollar	
Mark Yr.	1.6884
DM	1.488
Pound	1.488
Yen	105.98
FF	5.7638

World's Miners Reopen Rich Lodes

By Don Podesta and Steve Coll

TIERRA AMARILLA, Chile — Out in the hills a few kilometers from this isolated desert town, a project worthy of the pharaohs is under way.

Mammoth trucks with tires twice as tall as a man speed back and forth from an ever-widening pit carved into the stony mountainside. Clouds of dust rise from the labors of more than 2,000 workers busy erecting a crushing mill, conveyor belt, fuel storage tanks, support buildings — the core of a major mining complex.

This is the Atacama Desert, said to be the driest on earth. From its mountains, a yellow-dun landscape extends to the horizon, unbroken by even wisps of vegetation.

"You don't see many of these go up like this in a career," said the mine's site supervisor, William Champion, surveying the creation from a rise with a panoramic view.

Copper and gold brought Mr. Champion here. There is an estimated 370 million tons of mixed ore out there for the taking, just as soon as his employer, Arizona-based Phelps Dodge Corp., digs a deep enough hole in the desert.

When you hit a mineral deposit like this one, "you go out and find yourself a cold six-pack of beer and whoop it up," Mr. Champion drawled. From the Atacama to the Siberian tundra to the jungles of Africa and Southeast Asia, vast

The world diamond cartel steps up its marketing drive in newly affluent Asia. Page 11.

tracts of mineral-rich land are reopening to Western mining companies after decades of closure.

The reason: As the global economy undergoes a basic restructuring in the Cold War's aftermath, dozens of Third World countries such as Chile are abandoning old protectionist policies and adopting development strategies

that emphasize exports, lower tariffs and open foreign investment.

Already the changes under way in global trade are having an effect on Western minerals companies and their employees. A glut of metals unleashed from the former Soviet Union in the aftermath of communism's collapse has helped to push prices for aluminum, zinc, tin, nickel and other products to record lows. The price collapse has forced some high-cost American and European producers to shut plants and lay off workers.

In many cases, long-improvised Third World countries, not Western governments, are pushing hardest for free-market change. Since it started trade and economic reforms much earlier than most — its initial efforts at reform began 15 years ago — Chile is emerging as "a role model for many other places" in South America" and elsewhere, said A. Ross Dunn.

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Western Players Are Rethinking Pan-Asian TV

By Kevin Murphy and Erik Ipsen

HONG KONG — Pan-Asian satellite television broadcasting is not dead, but it will need some redesigning after STAR TV's decision to drop the BBC news service from its broadcasts to China, Hong Kong and Taiwan.

STAR TV, Rupert Murdoch's Asian satellite network, said Tuesday that it was replacing the BBC's World Service Television with Mandarin-language entertainment broadcasts in the three territories. Executives of both companies said the shift signaled a rethinking of the pan-Asian concept that has so far governed Western broadcasters' moves into the potentially huge lucrative market.

While Beijing had for months complained publicly and privately about the BBC's news and documentaries, Mr. Murdoch's decision to drop the BBC was widely seen by industry sources as less of a bow to political pressure than to economic necessity.

As part of a deal struck with Mr. Murdoch's News Corp., World Service Television will continue to be broadcast by STAR TV over the southern half of its territory until at least March 1996, preserving the British national broadcaster's reach into India, Bangladesh and Pakistan.

"No one is going to make any money in television in China for several years to come," one American television industry executive said, insisting on anonymity. The prospect of replacing the BBC with a pay television movie service in Taiwan holds far more immediate promise for STAR TV, he said.

Christopher Irwin, chief executive of World Service Television, said from New Delhi, "I do not think this is the death knell for international broadcasting at all."

An executive at Cable News Network agreed. "We have long understood and in fact respected the various reasons why governments

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Canada's Snowbirds Flock to Their Places in the Sun

By Charles Trueheart

ST. PETERSBURG, Florida — Officially, Canada has 10 provinces. But at this time of year, it has an unofficial, and populous, 11th one. It's called Florida.

Between the end of October, when winter sinks its frigid teeth into Canada, and late April, when it relaxes its bite, nearly a tenth of all Canadians — estimates run to 2.5 million — head to Florida, many of them to trailers and condominiums they own and inhabit up to half of the year.

For Canadian retirees and vacationers, as for so many American ones, this is the promised land, "Canada under the sun," and a comfortably familiar one.

The maple leaf flag flutters everywhere, right side up. Canadian papers are at the corner store, Canadian soap operas are on the air and Canadian friends are next door. Prime ministers vacation in Florida. Even the Toronto Blue Jays and Montreal Expos spend the winter there, and this month, entertain their Canadian fans.

"It's 20 below zero at home, the worst winter we've had since '21," cackled Don Slinger, of Port Severn, Ontario, and Bradenton, Florida, as he surveyed the throngs flocking to a "no-snow

festival" on the St. Petersburg pier. "Here I can pick my breakfast off a tree."

But this fruited plain is newly tinged with blight for many snowbirds, as these migratory Canadians call themselves. Across the Canadian diaspora, which also takes in enclaves in Arizona and the Grand Strand of South Carolina, the good life is not quite what it used to be.

Prices may still be attractive in the United States, but a Canadian dollar that used to trade above 90 cents has plunged below 75, and interest rates no longer provide incomes on savings to sustain this traditional Canadian habit.

Worse yet, provincial governments in Canada have put the brakes on their soaring health expenditures for snowbirds long accustomed to being treated in American hospitals and claiming reimbursement under Canada's socialized health system. Now they pay dearly for insurance to cover what Canada no longer will.

"Life is not as simple as it once was, and a lot of that angst is coming out," said Geoffrey Stevens, editor and publisher of the weekly Sun Times of Canada, one of a handful of French- and English-language publications and radio programs serving Canadians with news from home.

The anecdotal evidence suggests that fewer Canadians are in

Florida this year, or are staying for less time and spending less. A local merchant selling his tinklers at the snowbird festival remarked, "Canadians are very nice people, but they're not good for the pocket."

English-speaking Ontarians make up well over half the Canadian population in Florida. Among them is a large contingent of retirees who stay as long as the law allows, 182 days a year, before they lose their health-care privileges.

Organizations such as the Canadian Snowbird Association and the Florida French-Language Association are working to organize these exile communities to protest new provincial caps on payments to Canadians seeking medical treatment south of their border.

Until 1991, emergency care in the United States was fully reimbursed, and elective surgery at 75 percent of cost. Now Ontario will cover hospital care in the United States, which can cost \$1,000 a day, only to a daily maximum of \$300.

Don Slinger, recruiting new members at the association booth on the St. Petersburg pier, offered one after another reason to protest the health-care limits as folly and injustice, including this one: "If we were all at home, we'd be slipping on the ice and falling down. We're saving them all kinds of money being down here."

In Juliet's Dainty City, Young Veronese Open Up Their Hearts to Evil

By Alan Cowell
New York Times Service

VERONA, Italy — Since Shakespeare's day one thing has set this city apart from other Italian cities, at least in the minds of its visitors — romance. But these days, winged love and tender words seem the last things on Verona's mind.

With a series of killings staining its image of itself, the sweet sorrow has turned sour and the city's elders seemed more preoccupied with a question they would rather not ask or answer in public: Has the city fallen prey to what people call the "Verona Syndrome," meaning, in the words of a local reporter, "a concentration of evil" among its young people?

The question seems almost unlikely in a place whose modern prosperity easily matches the

value of its antiquities. This, after all, is one of Italy's most cherished cities, rich in Roman ruins and gorgeous palaces as well as Juliet's tomb and the famed balcony — built where it never really existed in Shakespeare's day.

But in recent times, official corruption, drug abuse and the advent of skinhead and soccer hooliganism have shifted the focus.

Verona ranks as the second most corrupt city in Italy, after Milan, in terms of investigations per elected official. Its entire city council has been suspended over graft accusations. Its reputation as a drug-trafficking center has inspired Italian newspapers to call it the Bangkok of Europe.

Then, starting three years ago, the killings started. A 19-year-old, Pietro Marso, enlisted three friends to help him beat both his parents to death to obtain his inheritance.

A teenage girl hurled a newborn baby from a third-floor window to its death. A 66-year-old father shot his son to death out of exasperation at his demands for money to buy heroin. A 16-year-old woman shot her father, accusing him of repeated sexual abuse.

In December, Marco Moschini and Riccardo Garbin had a few beers with friends and then went to throw rocks at cars on the freeway — "for fun, to enjoy ourselves," as one of them told the police later.

In the course of the adventure, they dropped a 30-pound boulder onto a passing sedan. It went through the sunroof and killed the 25-year-old passenger, Monica Zanotti, driving with her fiancé.

To others, from societies more used to such violence, the incidents might have seemed sadly

familiar. Verona, however, was stunned, chilled by the lack of remorse among some of the killers and the echo their actions found among their peers.

Pietro Marso — young, handsome and spendthrift — became such a hero among the violence-prone Verona soccer supporters on the notorious "curva sud" — the southern curve — of the local stadium that they composed a chant to sing his praises.

When he appeared in court before receiving a 30-year jail term, Mr. Marso said his motive in killing his parents was to obtain a legacy that would give him "a brilliant life, with expensive cars and good-quality clothes."

It is this hankering for the materialist trappings of modern Italian life that has touched off a debate here about the "Verona Syndrome."

Is it a phenomenon that applies only to Verona and the small towns of the surrounding Veneto region, where many of the crimes occurred?

Or is it a parable for all of modern Italy, where the postwar wrench from agricultural to industrial society and the sudden advent of vast wealth have upended what were once viewed as the traditional values of a Roman Catholic nation?

"Certainly these episodes are the warning lights of a malaise," Verona's bishop, Attilio Nitoro, said in an interview. But, he added, they represented a broader "failure of our society to offer young people a challenge for the future" that, in turn, led to "the gestures of gratuitous violence."

"This is a problem of how to live responsibly with a high standard of living, and it pertains

particularly to all of northern Italy," he said. Others see the "Verona Syndrome" as a direct result of the Veneto region's recent evolution from a traditional farming economy to lucrative food processing and light industries that contributed greatly to Italy's economic boom in the 1980s.

"The city of Verona is undergoing a major transformation from agricultural to industrial society," said Michelangelo Bellinetti, a Veronese commentator. "Traditionally, agricultural society was conservative: no risk, no imagination, no confrontation. Industrial society demands the opposite."

"Verona has economic riches, and no cultural identity," he said. Ferdinando Canon, the Veneto region's best-known writer, called it "a fatal mixture of money and ignorance."

UN Opens Airport In Bosnia's North

A Milestone in Peace Efforts

By Chuck Sudetic
New York Times Service

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina — United Nations officials opened an airport Tuesday in the northern Bosnian city of Tuzla after almost 18 months of pleas by local officials.

The opening came in the morning when a cargo jet carrying United Nations officials and a symbolic load of medicine and other supplies touched down.

No start-up date for aid flights to the former Yugoslav Army air base has been set, said Kris Janowski, a spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

"There are still problems between the Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian government, and we have to hold off until they agree," he said.

While refugee relief officials here publicly assert that cargo flights into the airport would help their effort to supply 350,000 aid-dependent people in the Tuzla region with food and other supplies, the officials concede that the recent reopening of overland routes from Croatia and Serbia has virtually erased the airport's potential importance to the campaign.

"By the time it opens the airport may be superfluous, even for medical evacuations, because there is so little fighting in the Tuzla area," a UN official said. "The political momentum is such, however, that we had to go ahead with opening the airport."

Officials of Tuzla's local government have appealed to the United Nations to open the airport since the fall of 1992, but UN officials balked, fearing armed retaliation by the Serbs and insisting that the area was best supplied by ground convoys.

International pressure for opening the airport climaxed earlier this year after fighting in central Bosnia and intransigence by the Serbs

made the UN food trucks unable to reach thousands of people across large swaths of the Tuzla region.

Nationalist Serbs, who regularly shelled the airport last year from gun positions just a few miles from its perimeter, have long opposed reopening the airport, asserting that the Bosnian Army could use it to transport weapons into the area.

Serbian leaders tentatively agreed to the airport's reopening when Russia pledged to send military observers to monitor shipments into the facility. Those observers have not yet arrived.

Croats and Serbs Meet

John Kifer of The New York Times reported from Zagreb:

Croatian representatives began meetings Tuesday with breakaway Serbian nationalists from the Krajina region for the first time in two years under joint Russian, American and European aegis.

While the goal of the talks is relatively limited — consolidation of an existing cease-fire — it represents another step in the rapidly unfolding American and Russian efforts in recent weeks to find a way to end the three-way war in the former Yugoslavia.

With the signing of articles of confederation between once-warring Croatia and the Muslim-led Bosnian government, the pressure is now on the Serbs, who are still at odds with both parties.

The meeting Tuesday was organized by a Russian deputy foreign minister, Vitali I. Churkin, who shuffled between Zagreb, the Croatian capital, and Belgrade. Mr. Churkin, who arranged the last-minute initiative that helped Bosnian Serbs comply with a NATO ultimatum to pull their heavy guns away from Sarajevo, greeted the group at the Russian Embassy in the wooded hills over the old city.

Clinton Nominates Admiral As Ambassador to London

Reuters

WASHINGTON — President Bill Clinton has nominated retired Admiral William J. Crowe as ambassador to Britain, the White House said Tuesday.

"Admiral Crowe has distinguished himself through four decades of dedicated public service," Mr. Clinton said in a statement released by the White House.

Admiral Crowe, 69, was chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff until he retired in 1989.

He is expected to take his new post in the late spring, after confirmation by the Senate. He will succeed Raymond G.H. Seitz.

Testimony of Mosque Survivors Is Chaotic and Contradictory

By David Hoffman
Washington Post Service

JERUSALEM — Palestinian survivors of the Hebron massacre testified Tuesday that they heard gunfire from more than one direction during the assault in which 29 Muslim worshippers were killed.

But in their first public statements to the Israeli commission in-

vestigating the Feb. 25 massacre, the Palestinian witnesses offered a chaotic and sometimes contradictory picture of what happened inside the mosque.

Although several of the witnesses said they believed there was a second gunman, none could describe him, and members of the investigating panel pointed out that witnesses had changed their stories from statements given to police and human-rights workers just after the attack.

The Israeli Army has said that a militant settler, Baruch Goldstein,

acted alone in the assault, and that all the bullets fired at the Tomb of the Patriarchs were from Dr. Goldstein's weapon.

The army has also said its investigation discovered no traces of a gunman in the attack. However, a member of the Palestinian witness panel said he recalled hearing an "explosion" at the onset of Dr. Goldstein's firing. Some also described a bewildering scene in which glass was falling from a chandelier, sparks were flying from bullets hitting the walls and doors, and people were scrambling for safety.

Mohammed Jabaari, 29, told the panel that he first heard an explosion shake the mosque, where more than 500 Palestinian men were praying during the Muslim holy month of Ramadan. Mr. Jabaari said he turned around and saw Dr. Goldstein firing, wearing protective ear coverings.

Mr. Jabaari said he did not see a second gunman, but he added, "I know there was another source of fire because when he was changing magazines there was still fire."

"Maybe there was even a third source of fire," he said. But Judge Eliezer Goldberg of the Israeli Supreme Court repeatedly questioned Mr. Jabaari on why his testimony was different from a statement he gave to the Israeli human rights organization B'tselem just after the killings.

"The truth is," Mr. Jabaari insisted, "there was more than one source of fire."

Another witness, Abdel Hafez Jabaari, also said he heard shooting come from several directions.

He said he had only seen one person shooting, but had heard shooting "from other places as well." When pressed as to why he had not included this in an earlier statement, the second Mr. Jabaari said he had been tired when he gave the first statement.

Several of the witnesses complained that the evacuation of the wounded from Hebron was impeded by soldiers, but again the panel seemed skeptical and pressed for specifics.

Abdel Maez said he was behind an ambulance carrying a badly wounded man when the army forced the ambulance to stop for five minutes. Arafat Quraishi Karaki said soldiers had also prevented Palestinians from taking the wounded out of the mosque from one of the gates. Previous army

witnesses acknowledged that they had closed the gate.

At another point, Mr. Karaki complained at length about a confrontation between Jewish settlers and Palestinians, in which he said he decided not to complain to the police because "there was no point to complain, there are no results."

U.S. Hopeful on Talks

Dennis Ross, the U.S. Middle East peace process coordinator, said Tuesday that he saw signs the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel could agree to restart peace talks frozen for three weeks after the slaying of 29 Palestinians in Hebron, Reuters reported.

"I think we had very productive discussions with Chairman Arafat," Mr. Ross said, referring to Yasser Arafat, the PLO leader. Mr. Ross was speaking after a 90-minute meeting with the Egyptian foreign minister, Amr Moussa.



Yasushi Akashi, left, the UN special representative in the Balkans, taking part Tuesday in opening ceremonies at the Tuzla airport.

On the Streets, Ill Omens for Balladur

By Alan Riding
New York Times Service

PARIS — When Edouard Balladur was named prime minister last year, the French seemed ready for his reassuring grandfatherly style and, in no time, they turned the 64-year-old Gaullist into the front-runner to succeed President François Mitterrand in next year's elections.

Cautious by nature, though, Mr. Balladur said he was puzzled to find he was popular while the French economy was stagnant and unemployment was still rising. In fact, he frequently cautioned aides that the seeds of social unrest lay beneath the country's apparently calm surface.

Now, as if to mark the completion of Mr. Balladur's first year in office on March 30, France's mood has begun to sour. Opinion polls have recorded the first sharp drop in the prime minister's popularity. More ominously, the specter of a massive protest movement, such as rocked France in 1968, is suddenly in the air.

"Are we back in May 1968?" Franz-Olivier Giesbert, the editor of the Paris daily Le Figaro, asked last week. "That question is said to haunt the prime minister. Indeed, at times it seems that France has gone into mental regression, marked by the same gloom that has preceded some political upheavals."

Other French publications have been no less alarmist. The cover of last week's edition of the magazine L'Evenement du Jeudi showed the prime minister wearing an 18th-century wig and, under the words, "It begins with euphoria,

it ends in revolution," asked provocatively: "Is Balladur Louis XVI?"

The immediate catalyst for this soul-searching has been a wave of angry and often-violent demonstrations by French youths protesting a government decree allowing employers to pay from 30 percent to 80 percent of the minimum wage to those under the age of 25.

About 200,000 people took to the streets throughout France on Thursday to demand revocation of the decree, which went into effect Tuesday. Since then, demonstrations have continued in many provincial cities, with serious clashes between police and demonstrators taking place in Nantes and Lyon on Monday and Tuesday.

The government contends that, with one in four young French unable to find work, employers will be encouraged to hire youths if they can pay less than the \$1,020 monthly minimum wage. But, having been told that higher education would bring them better-paying jobs, many students feel ambushed.

Behind this dispute, however, lies the more disturbing question of what future awaits not only French youth but France as a whole. And as more French feel their security and prosperity are no longer assured, they are beginning to direct their wrath at the political system.

The crushing defeat suffered by Mr. Mitterrand's Socialist in parliamentary elections last year reflected France's disappointment with Socialist rule during 10 of the previous 12 years. But while voters gave conservatives 80 percent of the seats in the National Assembly, it was

less clear they were opting for conservative policies.

Indeed, since then, with the exception of his moves to tighten controls on immigration from the Third World, whenever Mr. Balladur has tried to apply conservative measures, he has faced resistance. And in three critical disputes — involving Air France workers, fishermen and a plan to increase government subsidies to private schools — he backed down.

In the case of the so-called youth wage, however, while making concessions to those with university degrees, Mr. Balladur has vowed to stand firm, contending that the scheme provides the only hope of employment for the unqualified youths who crowd poor urban neighborhoods. But more angry protests seem likely.

The results of the first round of cantonal elections last weekend suggested that, in political terms, Mr. Balladur still has some room for maneuver. Although the Socialists recovered some of their traditional share of the vote at the expense of ecological parties, the conservative coalition, with 44.5 percent of ballots, did slightly better than a year ago.

But Mr. Balladur also knows that his political rivals are waiting for him to stumble. Former Prime Minister Jacques Chirac and former President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing are unwilling to cede him the conservative coalition's nomination, while the leading Socialist contender, Michel Rocard, can only hope that social unrest will work to his advantage.

Mafia Has a Stranglehold On Vote in Southern Italy

Reuters

ROME — The Mafia controls up to 400,000 votes in Sicily, or 10 percent of the electorate there, a research institute said Tuesday. "This is a real army capable of exercising pressure and conditioning the electoral direction," the Enripes organization said.

General elections in Italy are set for Sunday.

The study said the 45,000 members of Sicily's 150 Mafia families could influence 350,000 to 400,000 votes, mostly through control of people involved in drug trafficking and extortion.

Sicily has a population of 5 million, with nearly 4.3 million of them eligible to vote, officials said.

The Enripes study estimated that the Mafia had an annual turnover of \$58 billion from illegal activities, with as much as 30 percent coming from control of construction

companies and rigged public works contracts.

The Mafia has used financial institutions, such as mortgage and holding companies, to recycle its profits and put them into the mainstream economy, Enripes said.

Organized crime's interest in the elections, the first since a two-year corruption scandal discredited traditional parties, was emphasized on Saturday when gunmen killed an anti-Mafia priest near Naples. The Reverend Giuseppe Diana was killed four days after he and other priests in the town of Casal di Principe had met magistrates to discuss the local Mafia's political connections.

Politicians saw the murder as a warning to voters in Italy's crime-ridden south to back Mafia-supported candidates.

The Mafia has threatened several leftist Sicilian mayors who won office in December's local elections.

WORLD BRIEFS

Mexico Mediator Declines Candidacy

MEXICO CITY (Reuters) — The government's envoy in peace talks with rebel peasants, Manuel Camacho Solis, said Tuesday that he would not run for president, ending speculation that he would challenge the leadership of the governing party.

Mr. Camacho, the former Mexico City mayor who earlier left the door open to a challenge to the Institutional Revolutionary Party's official candidate, said he would dedicate himself to bringing a peaceful end to the peasant uprising in southern Chiapas state.

"Between seeking a candidacy for the presidency of the republic and the contribution I could make to the peace process in Chiapas, I choose peace," Mr. Camacho said. "If people carry on perceiving that my priority is to achieve a candidacy for the presidency of the republic, it would end up harming the peace process."

Cuba Cuts Defense Budget by 50%

HAVANA (Reuters) — Cuba's armed forces have slashed their budget by half to ease their cost to the nation during the economic crisis, according to Granma, the newspaper of the ruling Communist Party, on Tuesday.

The newspaper did not give comparative figures for the old or new military budget, but noted that the cost-cutting helped reduce the overall state budget deficit. Cuba's total budget deficit in 1993 was more than \$5.2 billion. The report noted that the armed forces were moving toward total self-sufficiency in food.

It also said that the Youth Work Army — soldiers who work in civilian agricultural projects — was now farming produce such as sugar, citrus fruit, coffee and tobacco on 200,000 hectares throughout Cuba. The force was producing 632,000 metric tons of food products a year, the report said.

Algerian Women Protest Violence

ALGIERS (AP) — Women's groups led tens of thousands at a rally Tuesday to voice their anger over political assassinations and threats against unveiled women during a two-year-old Muslim fundamentalist insurgency.

"Too much blood, too many tears, together we save Algeria," the protesters chanted. "Women have dignity and won't accept shame." Heavy police protection was arranged for the officially sanctioned protest. Estimates of the turnout ranged from 50,000 to 150,000.

The rally was held outside the School of Fine Arts and led by the wife of the school's director, who along with their 22-year-old son was assassinated inside the building on March 5. Militants have targeted journalists, public officials, intellectuals and foreigners in their fight to bring down the army-led government.

TRAVEL UPDATE

Japanese to Travel More, Spend Less

TOKYO (Reuters) — More Japanese are likely to travel abroad on vacation this year because tour packages are more attractive and the yen is stronger, but they will not be spending as freely as they once did, a tourism authority said.

"We see a record number of Japanese visiting overseas in 1994 but we think they will spend less," said Hiroshi Kunitomatsu, spokesman for Japan's largest travel agency, Japan Travel Bureau.

His company expects 12.4 million Japanese to travel overseas in 1994, compared with an estimated record 11.9 million in 1993. Mr. Kunitomatsu said he expected Japanese overseas travelers to spend an average 364,000 yen (\$3,450) per trip in 1994, down 2.8 percent from 375,000 yen in 1993.

A group of 79 American and Canadian tourists were stranded on the Falkland Islands after their Russian cruise ship was impounded for outstanding debts, officials said.

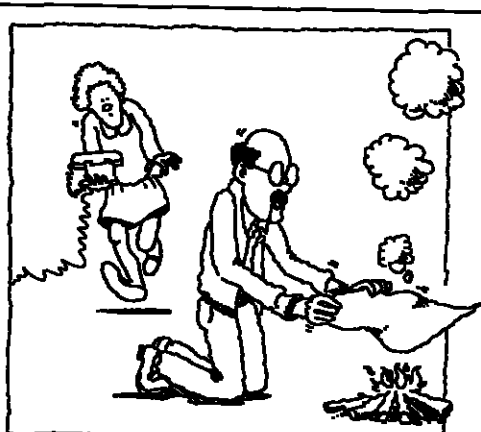
Airline flights on Papua New Guinea are being rescheduled to avoid collisions with flocks of migrating fruit bats. An official said Tuesday that at least two jets had been damaged when they sucked bats into their engines.

Revenues declined at French ski resort hotels this winter despite the return of perfect conditions following years of paltry snow cover. Hotel revenues were off between 10 percent and 20 percent from last year even though the number of tourists was steady and snow plentiful, the Tourist Hotel Federation said Tuesday. Skiers sought cheaper hotels even though most establishments offered cut rates this season, it said.

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مكازم التحصيل

THE AMERICAS / A PARTY FUMBLE

House, Too, Votes to Hold Hearings on Whitewater

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

WASHINGTON — The House, following the Senate's lead, voted on Tuesday to hold hearings on the Whitewater case that has become a political nightmare for the Clinton administration.

The timing and form of the hearings were to be decided in negotiations between Democratic and Republican leaders.

Democrats said they would make a good-faith effort to get an agreement but gave no guarantees.

By a vote of 408 to 15, the House passed a nonbinding resolution calling for hearings, identical to one passed unanimously by the Senate last week.

The House majority leader, Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri, told Republicans that it was possible that agreement would not be reached on how to schedule hearings but promised that "there will be an attempt made in good faith to have comprehensive

hearings that will put all the facts on the table."

Legislators pledged that any hearings would neither impede a special counsel's investigation on Whitewater nor leave Congress in gridlock.

"While we cannot and should not ignore Whitewater, neither can we allow it to flood the chamber," Mr. Gephardt said.

The legislation marked a retreat for House Speaker Thomas S. Foley of Washington, who has been under pressure from Republicans and some Democrats to drop his opposition to hearings.

Mr. Foley said that he and leading Republicans would meet soon to discuss the details involved in the hearings.

The House Republican leader, Robert H. Michel, pledged hearings "in a very orderly manner."

He added, "I don't want to see any kind of circus atmosphere."

Mr. Foley insisted that he was not making a "concession that hearings are going to take place," and stressed that it was possible he and Mr. Michel would fail to reach agreement on terms.

But given a 98-to-0 Senate vote last week and consistent pressure from House Republicans, some type of congressional probe into Whitewater appears inevitable.

Mr. Foley stressed that no hearings would interfere with the work of Robert B. Fiske Jr., the special counsel looking into Whitewater, and that "no immunity will be granted to any witness without the approval of the special counsel."

He said he did not favor appointment of a select committee to investigate Whitewater, such as was appointed during the Watergate scandal in the Richard Nixon administration and the Iran-contra affair in the Ronald Reagan administration.

Several committees have jurisdiction on

issues raised by the Whitewater affair involving Mr. Clinton's investment in a vacation development project in Arkansas in partnership with the head of the Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan, which was later shut down at a cost to taxpayers of \$47 million.

Agreement on hearings was reached one day after the chairman of the Banking Committee, Henry B. Gonzalez of Texas, abruptly called off a meeting of his committee.

In postponing a required hearing on government handling of the savings and loan industry cleanup, Mr. Gonzalez urged Mr. Foley in a letter to seek a resolution calling for hearings, possibly by a select committee, on Whitewater.

He accused the Republicans of using "half-truths, old rumors, half-baked conspiracy theories and outright lies" in "a malicious campaign of character assassination" in pursuing Whitewater charges.

(AP, Reuters)

★ POLITICAL NOTES ★

Sixfold Cigarette Tax Gains

WASHINGTON — A House Ways and Means panel Tuesday voted to raise cigarette taxes by \$1.25 a pack to help pay for health reforms, including insurance subsidies for small businesses.

The proposal was approved, 6 to 5, with support from five Democrats and one Republican, Representative Nancy L. Johnson of Connecticut.

The increase would raise taxes on each pack of cigarettes from the current 24 cents to \$1.49. It would raise roughly \$16 billion.

(AP)

A Health-Conscious Congress

WASHINGTON — As Congress debates health care reform, the generous medical benefits lawmakers enjoy are receiving closer scrutiny.

"I think everybody should have health care that is as good as members of Congress have," said James Finnerman, president of the United Seniors Health Cooperative, a consumer group.

Representative Jim Cooper, Democrat of Tennessee, author of an alternative health plan, acknowledges that many of his constituents believe just that. "There's a great concern about congressional hypocrisy on a number of issues," he said. "Health care is one of them."

Like other federal employees, members of Congress receive insurance through the Federal Employees Health Benefits Program, which offers 14 plans and more than 200 health organizations nationwide at monthly costs ranging from \$63.58 to \$501.96 for family coverage.

(WP)

Liberal in Line for House Post

WASHINGTON — Representative David R. Obey, a liberal Democrat and reformer from Wisconsin, is all but certain to be named acting chairman of the House Appropriations Committee to replace the ailing chairman, William H. Natcher, Democrat of Kentucky. Mr. Obey has gained the endorsement of the Democratic Steering and Policy Committee.

The policy committee's choice of Mr. Obey, 55, over Representative Neal Smith of Iowa, 73, sent a

message that the Democrats want a more aggressive and politically active chairman.

"Everyone likes Neal, but everyone respects Dave's leadership abilities," said the House Budget Committee chairman, Martin O. Sabo, Democrat of Minnesota.

Mr. Obey, chairman of the Joint Economic Committee and of the foreign operations subcommittee of the appropriations panel, has been a leading liberal spokesman on economic policy and institutional reform.

(WP)

Hillary Clinton's Taste-Tests

WASHINGTON — In between entertaining the media at the Gridiron dinner and fending off the media over Whitewater, Hillary Rodham Clinton has been eating.

The first lady will select a new White House chef from among a half dozen American specialists, based on interviews and tastings.

Believed to be still in the running: Nora Pouillon, chef-owner of Nora Restaurant and City Café in Washington; Frank Ruta, who was the White House sous-chef under the Reagans and now cooks at the River Club in the capital; Ris Lacoste, who was at the defunct 21 Federal and is now the sous-chef at the popular Kincaid; Will Greenwood of the Jefferson Hotel; and from New York, Anne Rosensweig, the chef at Arcadia.

Earlier this month, the head White House chef, Pierre Chanbrin, resigned, apparently because he and Mrs. Clinton were at odds over his French cooking. He was also said to be frustrated by the Clintons' erratic entertaining.

(WP)

Quote/Unquote

Cathy Hughes, a Washington talk show host, on the political morass of Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly and the rising popularity of her predecessor, Marion S. Barry Jr., who was arrested in 1990 on drug charges: "This whole wave of popularity isn't so much people liking Marion as it is a protest against her. People are saying, 'We'd rather have him high than to have her sober.'"

(NYT)

An Accuser Of Clintons To Testify to Grand Jury

By Charles R. Babcock

WASHINGTON Post Service

LITTLE ROCK, Arkansas — The Whitewater special counsel, Robert B. Fiske Jr., said Tuesday that an Arkansas businessman could make a "significant contribution to our investigation" by telling a grand jury about his allegation that President Bill Clinton pressured him to make improper loans in 1986.

Mr. Fiske said that the accusation by David L. Hale, a former Little Rock municipal judge, against Mr. Clinton is "one of the reasons I was appointed independent counsel, because of that public allegation."

Now, with Mr. Hale's testimony, he said, "We have an opportunity to investigate that situation, which we are doing."

The president has denied Mr. Hale's charge, and this week Mr. Clinton called it "a bunch of bull."

As Mr. Hale pleaded guilty here Tuesday to two felony counts, neither Mr. Fiske nor Mr. Hale's attorney, Randy Coleman, would say whether Mr. Hale had offered corroborating evidence for his accusation that Mr. Clinton, while governor, had asked him on two occasions to make loans to help James McDougal, owner of Madison Guaranty Savings & Loan.

Mr. McDougal and his wife, Susan, were partners with Bill and Hillary Clinton in Whitewater Development Co., a land investment company. Along with Mr. Hale's allegation, the special counsel is examining Whitewater; its ties to Madison; the July suicide of the deputy White House counsel, Vincent W. Foster Jr.; and a series of contacts between the White House and the Treasury regarding the Madison investigation.

Mr. Coleman did say that Mr. Hale had provided Mr. Fiske with "considerably more detail" about all the transactions he was involved with in the three weeks since Mr. Fiske initiated plea-bargaining talks. Mr. Hale has said he made loans to benefit other politicians, including Jim Guy Tucker, the current Arkansas governor.

Mr. Hale pleaded guilty Tuesday to misusing his federally subsidized company, Capital Management Services.

He admitted to conspiring to defraud the Small Business Administration in the late 1980s, and also pleaded guilty to one mail fraud count related to an financing application he filed in February 1986 with the Small Business Administration.

The second charge was not in Mr. Hale's original indictment. It describes a more sweeping scheme in which Mr. Hale and others obtained money between 1983 and 1991 from his company and the Small Business Administration. While Mr. Clinton's name was not mentioned in the court hearing, Mr. Fiske told the judge that Mr. Hale's cooperation "allows us now to investigate fully all the allegations Mr. Hale has made publicly and others he has made while cooperating."

Mr. Coleman said the Madison loan in 1986 was for \$825,000 and had been used to make a \$300,000 loan to Susan McDougal. Part of that money, in turn, was used to buy a piece of land in Whitewater's name. Mr. McDougal and the Clintons have said that transaction and Mr. McDougal transferred that land out of Whitewater's name within a few months.



President Clinton telling senior citizens in Deerfield Beach, Florida, that his health plan points the way to better care for all.

Alternative Health Plan Is Proposed in House

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — A powerful House committee chairman is circulating a scaled-back alternative to President Bill Clinton's health care bill that maintains his goal of health insurance for all Americans while cutting the bureaucracy to administer it, reducing the cost to

small business and promising not to increase the federal deficit.

The plan being offered by Representative John D. Dingell, Democrat of Michigan, who heads the Energy and Commerce Committee, is the first significant movement from Mr. Clinton's supporters to trim his plan in the hope of getting enough votes to pass it.

The draft would raise the cost to

individuals to make up for decreased revenue from business, when compared with the Clinton plan. In addition, it would maintain Mr. Clinton's goals of making coverage permanent and cutting costs while doing away with a main element of his plan: the notion of insurance-purchasing alliances that all employers but the biggest would be required to join. But that pro-

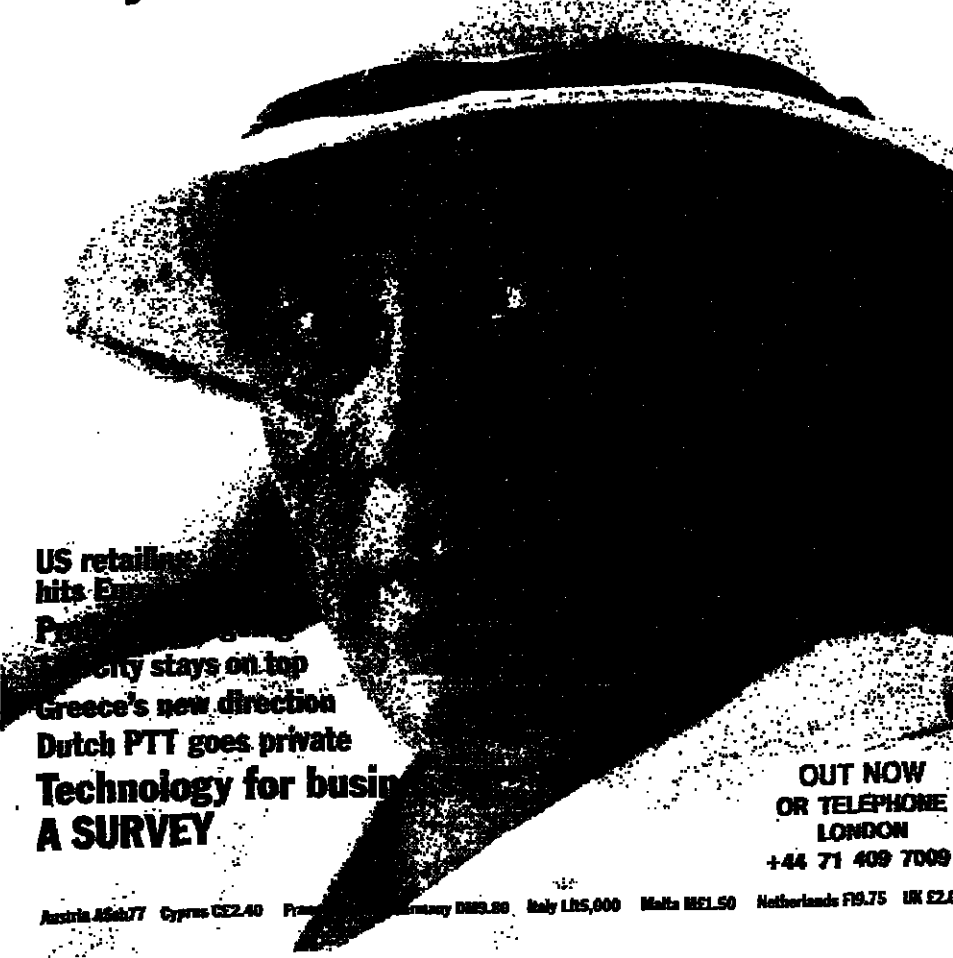
posal has seemed dead for weeks anyway.

The plan is labeled a "staff draft," but there is no question that it is Mr. Dingell's concept for getting a health care proposal out of his committee.

EuroBusiness

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MCI

Macdonald Carey, Actor, Dies at 81

By Richard Severo
New York Times Service

Macdonald Carey, 81, one of Hollywood's leading men in the 1940s and '50s who spent the better part of three decades playing a kindly patriarch, Dr. Tom Horton, on the TV soap opera "Days of Our Lives," died Monday in Beverly Hills, California.

In September 1991, Mr. Carey had a cancerous tumor removed from his lung. He returned to the show after his recuperation.

As a young actor, Mr. Carey was in demand for his fresh-scrubbed masculinity, easy ways, and smooth, resonant voice. One of his first films was "Wake Island" (1942), in which he played a valiant young Marine officer in the early months of World War II. That role led him to try to enlist in the Marines. When he was turned down because of an eye problem, he went to a clinic and learned to do eye exercises that months later, he said, made him an acceptable enlistee. As a Marine radar specialist in the Pacific, he participated in the battles of Bougainville and Mindanao.

He also appeared in Alfred Hitchcock's "Shadow of a Doubt," released in 1943, in which he played an earnest detective who becomes romantically involved with a killer's niece.

Among his other films were "Suddenly It's Spring" (1946); "Dream Girl" (1948); "Streets of Laredo" (1949); "Bride of Vengeance" (1949); "The Great Mississippi Raid" (1950); and "Comanche Territory" (1950). During his early years, he was also active in radio, acting in soap operas like "John's Other Wife" and on the mystery series "Lights Out."

He was born in Sioux City, Iowa, the son of an investment banker. He was educated at Phillips Exeter Academy and the universities of Iowa and Wisconsin. He was at first attracted to the law but then became interested in acting.

José Coronado Urtecho, 88, a Nicaraguan poet and pillar of the literary Vanguard Movement of the 1950s, died Saturday in southern Nicaragua. He and others in the movement are credited with injecting renewed importance into Nicaraguan poetry following the death in 1916 of Rubén Darío, one of the greatest Spanish poets.

Deck Rambo, 53, who played the silver-haired Jack Ewing on "Dallas" and a congressman on the soap opera "Another World" before he learned he was infected with AIDS and quit show business, died Monday.

Kenneth St. Joseph, 81, a British geologist who helped develop the use of aerial photography for the study of the Roman forts and other imperial remains, died of a heart attack March 11 in Histon, England, near Cambridge. He was a lecturer in the natural sciences and dean at Cambridge University's Selwyn College from 1939 to 1962.

Arthur Taubman, 92, a self-made businessman who built the Advance Stores auto parts chain into a multimillion-dollar business, died March 15 in Boca Raton, Florida. During World War II, he also helped about 500 European Jews reach the United States by filing affidavits with the immigration authorities saying they were relatives.

AMERICAN TOPICS

A Years-Long Effort To Heal Everglades

A broad effort to restore the Florida Everglades, one of the world's superlative ecosystems, is slowly gathering speed. The New York Times reports.

It is not too soon. Where tourists can now see perhaps a score of wading birds at once, there were thousands not so long ago. And this is only one sign of decline. People have reduced the Everglades by half, to about 2,000 square miles (5,200 square kilometers) over the past century, and have diverted too much water from what remains.

Now some of the same federal and state agencies that oversaw the decline of the Everglades are combining efforts to re-establish, as far as possible, the natural flows and rhythms of its water hydrology. This will mean

partly undoing the vast network of canals and levees that altered the natural hydrology almost beyond recognition in an effort to drain land for South Florida's cities and farms, supply them with water and protect them from floods.

Restoring the Everglades will take many years. But proponents of the restoration insist that apart from the Everglades' intrinsic value, their role in recharging the state's aquifers and attracting tourists makes them an indispensable economic asset.

Short Takes

The U.S. population aged about a year between 1990 and 1993, simply by having more births than deaths. The U.S. Census Bureau said there were 257,908,000 Americans as of July 1, with a median age of 33.7. This is up from a median age of 32.8 in 1990. Median age means half of the people are older and half younger than that age. As median age rises, the number of people in the long-term life span and the overall birthrate falls, the median

age gets older over time. But since there are still more births than deaths, the population isn't growing older at the same pace that time passes.

A champion of separate colleges for women, Judith Shapiro, has been named the new president of Barnard College, the sister institution of Columbia University in New York. Ms. Shapiro, 52, is provost of another Ivy League school, Bryn Mawr, outside Philadelphia, and a noted anthropologist who specializes in gender differences. In July she will succeed Ellen Futter, a corporate lawyer who headed Barnard for 13 years.

The swallows returned to Mission San Juan Capistrano in California last week, as they have done every March 19 in the 213-year history of the old Spanish mission. The impeccable timing of the swallows' return from their winter homes 6,000 miles (more than 9,600 kilometers) to the south in Argentina has baffled scientists for years.

Film ticket prices cost an average \$4.14 last year, the third consecutive drop from a 1990 high of \$4.23. Making films, however, is getting more expensive. The average major-studio movie made last year cost \$29.9 million, up almost 4 percent from the previous year. When marketing costs are added, this comes to \$44 million. Hollywood produced 156 films in 1993.

No need to worry about gigantic tides or being ripped sideways out of your living room chair when all nine planets are in alignment. For one thing, the term is only relative. The Washington Post reports.

In the alignment of 1982, most of the planets were scattered over 90 degrees of arc in the sky.

According to the U.S. Naval Observatory, even if all nine planets lined up in a precise row, the maximum tidal force would be only about 0.0001 percent of the ordinary everyday tidal forces of the sun and moon.

Arthur Higbee

Vatican Reaffirms Stance on Priestly Virtues and Dress

Reuters

VATICAN CITY — The Vatican warned priests on Tuesday that the Church would not tolerate open criticism and reminded them to stick to clerical clothes, shun smart cars, abstain from sex and stay out of politics.

A manual on priestly behavior told the world's 400,000 priests that the Church was not a democracy but a hierarchical organization that did not allow criticism of its teachings.

Clergy should wear "suitable ecclesiastical dress," either a cassock or a clerical distinguishing them from nonclerics.

The directive said priests "must lead a simple life and avoid anything which could have an air of vanity."

They must "eliminate any kind of affectation and luxury" in their living quarters, means of transport and choice of holidays.

The manual reiterated its rule that priests be celibate.

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Vatican Reacts Stance on Pious Virtues and Dilemmas

VATICAN CITY — The Vatican's stance on pious virtues and dilemmas is a subject of debate among the faithful.

A manual on pious virtues and dilemmas is a subject of debate among the faithful.

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The Empty Threat Over North Korea

How Could an Embargo Hurt A Nation That Does Without?

By David E. Sanger

New York Times Service

TOKYO — From the first talk a year ago about imposing economic sanctions to make North Korea rein in its nuclear ambitions, the Clinton administration and its allies in Asia have been confronted with a peculiar quandary: How do you isolate the world's most isolated nation?

Unlike almost every other nation in the world, North Korea has long made *juche*, or self-reliance, part of the national religion, a central feature of the ideology of Kim Il Sung, the North's "Great Leader." To rely on any other nation, he told his people in 1955, a decade after Stalin thrust him into power in 1945, is ultimately to compromise the country's political independence.

While Mr. Kim, 81, has violated his own principles often — relying on China and on the former Soviet Union to support an economy that was clearly in no shape to go it alone — he has trained two generations of North Koreans to go without, and do so without public complaint. In the next several months, the world may discover whether Mr. Kim's form of xenophobic nationalism, backed up by brutal social controls, is also an effective defense strategy.

So far, there is no economic embargo against Pyongyang, but the Clinton administration has made it clear that one is virtually inevitable unless Mr. Kim relents, and allows international inspectors free run of the North's nuclear sites.

But one reason the United States keeps letting deadlines slip, and always describes sanctions as the next step after giving North Korea one more chance, is that many in Asia feel they will not work. Even if China and Japan, the North's biggest trading partners, have the political will to risk a confrontation with the North — which is still doubtful — they may have little effect on a country by some estimates imports only 10 percent of what it consumes.

"Sanctions can be a very long, drawn-out process that gradually puts a squeeze on North Korea," Kim Kyung Won, the president of South Korea's Institute of Social Sciences and a former ambassador to the United States, said recently. "But will they change the minds of the North Korean regime?" he asked, and persuaded them to "throw open the doors" to Pyongyang, the country's secret nuclear installation.

"Would it bring about a political collapse? In a country that has survived with so little for so long, it is hard to see how."

In theory, sanctions should not be difficult to enforce, with only 10 percent of North Korea's economy coming from external trade. The numbers are shaky, because the North publishes virtually no economic statistics.

Unlike Iraq, North Korea's trading partners are few. There is cash flowing in from Japan, almost all of it from the wealthy Korean-Japanese community, much of it paid in hopes of aiding relatives. Though no one knows how much is involved, intelligence estimates in Japan vary from \$600 million to \$1.6 billion a year, most of it moving in cash.

There is oil, clothes and rice from China, though the supply across the rickety railroad bridge over the Tumen River, the barren border

between the two countries, has dwindled as the North Koreans have run out of hard currency. There is more oil from Iran, in return, according to the Central Intelligence Agency, for North Korea's missile technology.

Russia is still a supplier, but its volume of trade with North Korea is believed to have plummeted. The North's biggest business in Russia is operating logging camps in the Russian Far East, surrounded by

NEWS ANALYSIS

barbed wire and populated by North Korean workers who, defectors say, are virtual slaves, forced to cut down trees from dawn to late into the night.

Some South Koreans say that all those supplies are strategic, and North Korea would collapse without them.

"It could be devastating," said Cha Young Koo of the Institute for National Defense, and one of those urging a harder line. "I think that when people say that the North Koreans can endure economic sanctions, they're overrating the North's ability."

But as the United States has learned from other embargoes, cutting off those few links with the outside world is never as simple as it looks. Many doubt if China and Japan, each for very different reasons, have the political will to cut North Korea off as part of an American-led effort to stop one of the world's biggest proliferation threats. And even if they agreed on paper, the embargo would be enormously difficult to enforce without stopping and boarding ships at sea — especially to halt the Iranian oil tankers — an act that North Korea has already said it would regard as tantamount to war.

"I don't like the word 'intimidated,'" a senior Japanese official said the other day, asked if his country's continued reticence about sanctions is rooted in a deep fear that Japan could suddenly find itself swept into a conflict about which the Japanese public has stayed blissfully unaware.

"We are cautious," he said. "To make North Korea even more emotional would be counterproductive."

Stopping the funds from Japan is, perhaps, the best example of the political and technical complexities of enforcing an embargo in the cultural quagmire of Asia.

There is no secret about the flow of money: In a popular movie about Japanese-Koreans, "Which Way is the Moon," the lead character spends a good deal of time concealing wads of cash in a box about to be shipped off to their relatives in the North.

Nor are there many doubts about how the money gets from Osaka's pachinko parlors — a pin-ball-like game and multimillion-dollar business that is dominated by Koreans — to the government leaders in Pyongyang. Japan devotes nearly half its internal intelligence effort to tracking the North Korean community here, especially the Chosun Soren, the organization that represents many of the 300,000 Koreans in Japan who profess some loyalty to North Korea.

"We know who goes in and out of North Korea," a senior Japanese official said, "and we know what banks they use for dummy accounts."

A Defector Warns South Of Chemical Destruction

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

SEOUL — North Korea has built a huge arsenal of toxic chemicals in case of war with South Korea, a defector from the Communist state said Tuesday.

The defector, Sergeant Lee Chung Kuk, 26, said that "North Korea has enough chemical weapons to destroy the southern part of the peninsula without using nuclear weapons."

Mr. Lee, whom authorities identified as belonging to a biological and chemical unit near Pyongyang, was the first North Korean chemical warfare soldier to defect to South Korea. He arrived in Seoul last week by way of an unspecified third country.

"They have built vast chemical weapons that are powerful and toxic enough to kill all 40 million South Koreans," Mr. Lee said at a government-arranged news conference.

South Korean officials have warned that the North Korean military has one of the world's largest chemical units. Some experts say that the North's medium-range missiles, with a range of 1,000 kilometers (600 miles), can carry chemical as well as nuclear warheads.

Mr. Lee said he had defected because he was blacklisted and had no chance for promotion in the North Korean Army. He left his unit in November and crossed the border into China a few days later. He said the North's 1.1 million-member army was on high alert, and that all of its enlisted men were required to shave their heads in October as part of stepped-up preparations for war.

(AP, AFP)

KOREA: 'Brink of War'

Continued from Page 1

Korea has already built a nuclear weapon.

In Seoul, many officials think the nuclear question is more ambiguous than that. "Nobody really knows," said Kim Sam Hoon, special assistant for nuclear matters in the Foreign Ministry. "If they really want to develop nuclear weapons or if they just want to pretend to have a card in their pocket for negotiating."

Some observers in Seoul say they find it unusual that the United States has portrayed the North Korean regime as a potential danger to the world. "North Korea is a starving little country with a GNP probably smaller than Albania's, and Washington treats it like some great threat to world peace," said a senior Western observer here.

"Is this a nuclear card they are playing?" he asked. "We don't know that yet. We know that the Chinese have sheer contempt for the level of technology in North Korea. And yet Washington is carrying on like North Korea has the capability to destroy the world by itself."

American officials counter that one reason North Korea is such a poor country is that the ruling clique has poured all its development money into weapons. "They deprive their people of the basics so they can put more money into this nuclear weapon program," a Pentagon official said.

President Kim said Tuesday that he would discuss the North Korea situation when he visits Japan and China this week and next.



TWO FOR THE SHOW — A deputy of the National Peoples' Congress tidying up before closing ceremonies Tuesday in Beijing.

Khmer Rouge Blocks Flights to Ex-Base

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

KON DAMREL, Cambodia —

Stiffening Khmer Rouge resistance around its former base at Pailin has forced the Cambodian army to cease resupply and medical flights to the war-battered town, government soldiers said on Tuesday.

A helicopter flight that had been scheduled to take United Nations military observers and foreign military attaches to Pailin was canceled on Tuesday, officials said.

A government soldier said that the army was being forced to use another landing site about four kilometers away, which had also come under attack. The soldier, like the other 10 men in his squad, was dressed in Khmer Rouge uniform and wore no Cambodian Army badges.

The men said they belonged to a 70-member special forces unit that spearheaded the assault on Pailin accompanied by tanks.

There had been reports that special forces dressed in Khmer Rouge uniforms led the attack on Pailin, but they have not been officially confirmed.

The soldier, who gave his name only as Ney, said that after the attack on Saturday the rebels had scattered from Pailin and split into small groups that attacked the town three or four times a day.

"They have so much ammunition," said another soldier in the squad, referring to the Khmer Rouge. "They seem to keep it everywhere."

The Cambodian Army has said that it captured Pailin at 6 P.M. on Saturday. It is continuing to pour in men and equipment to support scores of fortified bases being established along access routes to and around the town.

The fall of the Khmer Rouge

base set off an exodus of guerrillas and their followers to Thailand, but analysts say they believe the Khmer Rouge will return to fight another day.

Diplomats, government soldiers and independent military analysts have questioned the wisdom of the army's offensive against Pailin, saying it could be difficult to hold and vulnerable to counterattack.

The base, 12 kilometers from the Thai border, is surrounded by densely forested hills that offer ideal positions for artillery, they say.

Soldiers returning from the front line reported heavy fighting over the last 48 hours around strategic hilltop positions near the town.

Diplomats say the government's ability to hold on to Pailin depends to a large degree on the attitude of Thailand, which denies that it supports the Maoist guerrillas. But Thai businesses have benefited greatly from gem and timber mining concessions from the Khmer Rouge at Pailin, creating a confluence of interest between the guerrillas and local Thai civil and military authorities.

At present, tanks are the only vehicle that can reach Pailin from Kon Damrel, 16 kilometers to the east. Heavy thunderstorms have rendered access by wheeled vehicles almost impossible and bulldozers have to tow trucks and field guns.

The government has not released casualty figures for the fighting around Pailin, but it says that the Khmer Rouge abandoned large quantities of supplies in its haste to withdraw.

(Reuters, AP)

China Shifts Tone On U.S. Relations But Not on Rights

By Lena H. Sun

Washington Post Service

BEIJING — Prime Minister Li Peng struck a more conciliatory tone in describing relations with the United States on Tuesday, noting that Beijing had already taken steps to improve relations and saying it would continue to do more in the future.

His comments were a shift from Beijing's initial harsh assessment of U.S.-China relations after the recent visit of Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher.

Mr. Christopher's visit was marked by sharp exchanges over human rights as authorities detained more than a dozen pro-democracy activists before and during his trip.

But even as Mr. Li adopted a more moderate stance, a strident editorial in a leading Chinese newspaper blasted as meddling in China's domestic affairs "foreigners with ulterior motives" who seek the release of political prisoners.

The seemingly contradictory stances underscored the sharp differences within the ruling Communist Party over what further human-rights concessions, if any, may be forthcoming from Beijing.

Speaking Tuesday at the conclusion of the National People's Congress, the rubber-stamp parliament, Mr. Li said Mr. Christopher's visit was helpful as Washington weighed renewal of Beijing's low-tariff trade status in coming months. He said Mr. Christopher's personal meetings with Chinese leaders had succeeded in giving each country a clearer view of the other's positions.

"This may perhaps help the United States, through careful considerations, to make decisions in the next few months that will be in keeping with the interests of both the United States and China," he said.

"I would like to take this opportunity to reassert that China is ready to improve Chinese-American relations," he said. "China has already made efforts in this regard and it will continue to do so in the future."

Under an executive order issued last year, President Bill Clinton must decide in June whether Beijing has made enough progress on human rights to merit an extension of its most-favored-nation trading status.

The trading status is critical to China's booming economy. If the status were revoked, Hong Kong, Taiwan and American investors in China would also suffer.

Mr. Clinton has said there must be "overall significant progress" in several human rights areas. Chinese officials have made some minor concessions. They have supplied some information about political prisoners, promised to take reports from American technicians on the jamming of the Voice of America, agreed to permit inspections of prison labor camps suspected of exporting products made by prison labor to the United States, and said they would continue to talk to the International Committee of the Red Cross on access to prisons.

In its editorial Tuesday, the official Enlightenment Daily criticized "some people abroad" who "time and again put forward lists of names of allegedly persecuted people of various kinds and ask, in disregard of the laws of China, for earlier release of prisoners on the lists," the official Xinhua news agency reported.

In suggesting concrete steps that China could take on human rights, U.S. officials have repeatedly sought the release of about 30 political prisoners who reportedly require urgent medical treatment.

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Pretoria's Forces Take Charge After A Mutiny in Ciskei

By Bill Keller
New York Times Service

JOHANNESBURG — South Africa took command of another riotous black homeland on Tuesday and closed in on the last and most explosive bastion of resistance, the Zulu homeland ruled by Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Ten days after deposing the ruler of Bophuthatswana, the multiparty authority that presides over the South African transition sent representatives Tuesday night to replace the president of Ciskei, an apartheid homeland designed for the Xhosa people, following a mutiny by homeland police and soldiers.

But attention was already turning to KwaZulu, the stronghold of Chief Buthelezi's election boycott, which was under mounting pressure from inside and out.

Within the homeland, political violence escalated beyond its deadly usual, leaving more than 60 dead since Friday and hundreds of families in flight. Worse was threatened as the African National Congress exhorted homeland civil servants to rise up against Chief Buthelezi and announced plans for a series of street protests.

From Pretoria, the Transitional Executive Council took the first steps toward limiting Chief Buthelezi's power to prevent him from thwarting free political activity.

Investigators working for the transitional body recommended a cutoff of all weapons to Chief Buthelezi's police, citing evidence

that the homeland force had organized hit squads to kill members of the rival African National Congress.

The multiparty panel that is overseeing the government until the April 26-28 elections is debating a number of more stringent moves against Chief Buthelezi, including absorbing his homeland police force into the South African police and sending army units to protect the election campaign.

Partisans on both sides said KwaZulu appeared to be spinning slowly into the same political whirlpool that demolished the homeland of Bophuthatswana less than two weeks ago.

Bophuthatswana, the homeland designated for the Tswana, refused to take part in the elections, but was brought down by civil servant strikes, student riots, and the turnabout of the homeland soldiers and police.

But while Bophuthatswana's leaders had little popular support, in KwaZulu the defiance is fired by devotion to the Zulu king, Goodwill Zwelithini. Zulu nationalists, moreover, are armed to the teeth and seasoned by nearly a decade of factional warfare.

The 10 homelands created under apartheid as reservations for blacks are to be abolished by the new constitution that takes effect April 27. All but KwaZulu have agreed to this fate.

Ciskei held out until January, when the military dictator of the homeland, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, bowed to pressure from his military



A youth demonstrating Tuesday for voting rights for prisoners. He was outside the Transitional Executive Council offices in Pretoria.

and agreed to abide by the election results.

But the homeland police did not trust him. They worried that he might siphon off their pension funds before the elections, and demanded the money be paid to them. When he balked, they mutinied, taking at least 15 senior officers hostage.

In one of the more bizarre moments of the South African transformation, Ciskei police who had ruthlessly enforced the brigadier's ban on political opposition on Tuesday shouted, "Viva ANC."

One policeman called on his brethren to stand in respect for "all the unnecessary lives" they had taken, according to the South African Press Association.

Request for Help Cited

The South African Foreign Ministry said that South African troops and the police had moved into Ciskei after it asked for help from Pretoria, news agencies reported Tuesday from Johannesburg.

A Foreign Ministry statement said that the homeland leader, Brigadier Gqozo, had "telephoned to say the situation was out of hand and there was danger of large-scale conflict and bloodshed."

In another development related to the homelands, President F. W. de Klerk warned Tuesday that his government would take "very firm steps" if violence prevented campaigning and free voting in KwaZulu.

(Reuters, AP, AFP)

AIDS Tragedy Catches Up With Zaire

Political Chaos Wrecks a Once-Successful Prevention Effort

By Kenneth B. Noble
New York Times Service

KINSHASA, Zaire — While many African countries denied the existence of an AIDS problem for much of the last decade, Zaire was different. It had a vigorous prevention campaign, the continent's best-trained scientists and best-equipped laboratories outside South Africa, and a steady flow of money from abroad.

These days, Zaire's fortunes have never seemed bleaker. Recent surveys and anecdotal evidence suggest that the epidemic is accelerating at a startling rate. Some hospitals report that close to 80 percent of their patients are infected with HIV, the virus that causes AIDS.

Scientists and doctors fear that if the current trend continues, Zaire's infection rate may soon exceed those of Uganda, Rwanda, and other East African countries hard-hit by the virus, sowing death, disease and fear among tens of millions.

The sharp reversal in this central African country's efforts to fight the epidemic was brought on by two events: Zaire's descent into chaos as President Mobutu Sese Seko, the longtime autocratic ruler, has slung to power in the face of popular discontent, and the subsequent withdrawal of virtually all economic aid by Western donors. AIDS prevention programs and research have collapsed, and medical workers lack even the money to test blood.

"Zaire is facing a tremendous tragedy," said Dr. Helene Gayle, AIDS coordinator for the U.S. Agency for International Development, in Washington.

Dr. Eugene Nzilambi, director of a research program known as Project SIDA, for the acronym in French for acquired immune deficiency syndrome, said: "I hate to think what will happen if things continue this way. We're back to where we started a decade ago in terms of education and prevention."

He added: "The only thing for sure is that the worst is yet to come."

Like many African nations where infection rates soared in the early 1980s, Zaire first reacted by denying the severity of the epidemic. It was not until 1987 that the first case of AIDS was officially reported among Zaire's population of about 35 million. Then, government officials here quietly made it known that they were receptive to foreign scientists and public health specialists who wanted to study what many viewed as the epicenter of a worldwide scourge.

In 1984, Project SIDA, the contin-

ment's largest AIDS research program, was started in Kinshasa at Mama Yemo Hospital, which is named after Mobutu's mother.

It is not entirely clear why Zaire's leaders, who have often displayed a suspicion of Western scientists, journalists, and even teachers, allowed the Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta and the National Institutes of Health, Project SIDA's main sponsors, to carry out intense and painstaking research on tens of thousands of Zairians.

Some say it was because many in Zaire's social and political elite were themselves falling victim to the disease, at rates conspicuously disproportionate to their numbers, and thus had a personal stake in encouraging research.

"Rich people here suffer more from the disease than poor people do, because when the first opportunistic sickness hits poor people, a chest cold or whatever, then they die because they cannot afford the treatment," said John Loftin, an American who has lived in Zaire for 22 years and now heads a condom distribution program. "However, someone with some money is able to go to the hospital, and it goes on, and on and on."

The initial results from Project SIDA were striking.

Its studies played a key role in proving that HIV could be spread through heterosexual intercourse, the main mode of transmission in Africa. These and other projects enhanced Zaire's reputation among scientists as a place likely to yield vital clues for fighting the disease.

As evidence grew about how AIDS spread, the research projects had another salutary effect: a country where talk about AIDS had been taboo, local officials were prodded to start one of the frankest and most widespread education campaigns on the continent.

No one knows precisely what effect the research here had on Zaire's population, but though Kinshasa had been hit hard by AIDS, by the late 1980s the rate of infection appeared to have stabilized at 7 or 8 percent of adults.

By contrast, surveys done about the same time in Kampala, the capital of neighboring Uganda, and Kigali, Rwanda, showed infection rates of about 30 percent among adults.

But Zaire's emerging network of research, prevention campaigns, and grass-roots social service organizations began to unravel in Sep-

tember 1991, after disgruntled soldiers seeking back pay went on a rampage, pillaging homes and shops and setting off violence that left dozens dead.

Since then, Zaire's economic collapse has accelerated as many of the foreigners who held vital technical and managerial positions have fled.

One result was the abrupt closing of Project SIDA. After the September 1991 rioting, the project's nine foreign scientists — six Americans, two Belgians, and a Frenchman — were evacuated. A local staff of about 200 doctors, nurses, and technicians was left to guard against looters, but research effectively ended.

"We are completely bankrupt; there's no money at all," said Dr. Nzilambi, a Zairian educated at the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine, in Baltimore, who now heads the project. And while the government does provide some money to keep the operation from shutting its doors entirely, it is meager even by local standards, he said. For example, he cited his own government salary, which now amounts to about \$5 a month.

From a public health perspective, doctors and public health specialists say, many Zairians have become dangerously indifferent to the dangers posed by AIDS and complacent about taking steps to avoid infection.

In particular, many Zairians, out of ignorance or denial, continue to have unprotected sex with multiple partners. The number of garishly dressed young prostitutes along Boulevard June 30, the city's main thoroughfare, has visibly risen in the last six months, reflecting a growing number of customers.

Yeltsin Is 'Even Busier' On Vacation, Aide Says

The Associated Press

MOSCOW — Boris N. Yeltsin is hard at work and even busier than before he left for a seaside vacation last week, a senior aide said Tuesday in the latest Kremlin attempt to portray the president as vigorous and in control.

Sergei A. Filatov, Mr. Yeltsin's chief of staff, said that Mr. Yeltsin had signed 81 decrees and presidential directives since arriving in the Black Sea resort of Sochi on March 14, the Inter-Tass press agency reported.

"These days were even busier and more effective for the work of the head of state than the days immediately before the vacation," the agency quoted Mr. Filatov as saying.

Mr. Yeltsin's absence from Moscow and renewed attacks by his political enemies have fueled rumors about a possible coup by senior government officials. The president's aides have denounced the rumors and issued statements that Mr. Yeltsin, 63, is in good health.

Prime Minister Viktor S. Chernomyrdin described speculation about Mr. Yeltsin's health as insulting, Inter-Tass reported.

Mr. Chernomyrdin made the remarks after meeting in Sochi with Mr. Yeltsin on Tuesday to discuss economic and political problems.

"Somebody must be interested in destabilizing the situation," the agency quoted Mr. Chernomyrdin as saying.

Mr. Filatov accused the leaders of an abortive October revolt, who were recently released from prison, of trying to "create a new confrontation against the president."

The Russian prosecutor-general's office opened an investigation Monday into a newspaper report that senior government officials had considered overthrowing Mr. Yeltsin.

State television showed footage Monday night of Mr. Yeltsin, sitting in a lawn chair and talking energetically to Mr. Chernomyrdin.

Mr. Yeltsin is scheduled to return to Moscow later this week.

Thatcher Recovers in Chile

The Associated Press

SANTIAGO — Former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain said she was "feeling much better" Tuesday after fainting a day earlier while delivering a speech. Mrs. Thatcher said she planned to go ahead with most of her planned activities, including a visit to a local English school and dinner with a former president, General Augusto Pinochet.

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EUROPE: Full-Blown Voting Crisis Looks Likely to Stall EU Expansion

Continued from Page 1

amount to an unacceptable modification of the Union's founding treaties. During Tuesday's meeting he threatened to resign if London prevailed in the dispute, according to Foreign Minister Willy Claes of Belgium.

Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel of Germany, which has been the driving force in the enlargement negotiations, also saw little chance of a breakthrough.

"Today I no longer say that I am cautiously optimistic," he said.

A German official said privately that the best hope of breaking the deadlock may have to await the June elections for the European Parliament. If British Conservatives are trounced then, as current polls indicate they will be, it will be hard for Mr. Major to persuade his EU colleagues that he must go to the wall on the voting issue for domestic political reasons, the official said.

The European Parliament holds the key to

the enlargement timetable because it must ratify the membership accords of the four candidate countries. If Parliament does not give its assent before breaking for the elections in early May, it will have to start all over again beginning in September.

There was little sympathy for Mr. Major's position in the Parliament, where most members have vowed to reject the enlargement pacts if Britain wins its way on voting rights.

"The British will be to blame if the enlargement fails," said Jean-Pierre Cot, the French leader of the Socialist bloc in Parliament.

The addition of the four new states will raise the total number of votes in the Council of Ministers, the EU body that passes legislation, to 90 from 76. Ten EU states believe that the minority needed to block legislation should be raised to 27 votes — three large states or two large ones and two or three small ones — to ensure that enlargement does not weaken the bloc's ability to make decisions.

"This is not a banal quarrel about figures, but

one in which the philosophy of European construction itself is at stake," Mr. Juppé said.

Britain is demanding that the blocking minority be kept at the current 23 votes, or two large states and one small one.

"We only just managed, several of us, to ratify the Maastricht treaty," Foreign Minister Douglas Hurd said, adding that many people in Britain regarded that treaty "as a centralizing move too far." Any change in voting rights will have to await a 1996 intergovernmental conference that is designed to review all aspects of how the Union functions, he said.

At the ministers' meeting on Tuesday, Britain rejected a Greek proposal to postpone decisions on issues where there were 23 votes opposed. EU officials said most countries were willing to offer a political commitment to seek a compromise solution in such cases, but would not give in to Britain's demand for a legally binding commitment not to proceed with legislation against the wishes of two large states and one small one.

MINES: In Tundra, Jungle and Desert, Rich Lodes Are Being Reopened

Continued from Page 1

general manager of Britain's Blue Circle Industries PLC, a resource extraction company.

For miners, Chile "is where other countries have a chance to be 10 years away," said Douglas Yearly, chairman and chief executive of Phelps Dodge. "There's potential in southern Africa. There's potential in Peru. There's potential in certain areas of the Far East, from Thailand southward through Malaysia and Indonesia. If you go further, if you're a visionary, you can think about Eastern Europe" and the former Soviet Union, he said.

Ostracized at the height of the Cold War because of its repressive generals, paramilitary death squads, social conflicts and inhospitability to foreign investment, Chile has completed an extraordinary turnaround to democratic capitalism.

Like scores of other developing countries and much of Latin America, beginning in the 1950s Chile sought to raise itself from poverty by sealing off outside economic forces, nationalizing foreign-owned assets such as mines and developing its own industries behind walls of trade protectionism.

That strategy brought some social benefits, such as enormous state-subsidized employment, but it failed to generate sustainable economic growth. Now Chile, after some false starts, has fully torn down trade barriers, reordered its economy toward global competition and erected welcome signs for the same foreign multinationals it used to scorn.

Because Chile is rich in minerals, Western natural resource companies have come rushing back, despite memories of being summarily thrown out 25 years ago. At least 30 copper companies are digging in Chile today. The country accounts for about one-third of the world's announced copper exploration and development projects. Future deals involving foreign companies may add as much as 3 million tons to global copper production by the year 2000, according to mining analysts. That is more new copper than all of the 1992 output from Chile, the world leader.

Within Chile and without, the global change in economic development strategies has confronted Western mineral explorationists with an embarrassment of riches.

Mining trade journals brim these days with glossy color supplements from such Third World countries as Niger and Burkina Faso whose governments have lately shed xenophobic policies and started hawking maps of uncharted prospects.

Kazakhstan reportedly is preparing a list of more than 3,200 mineral deposits that it intends to offer to foreign investors over the next few years.

Newmont Mining Corp. of Denver recently leased 6,493 square kilometers (2,507 square miles) of Laotian jungle to dig for gold and announced a \$90 million investment in an existing Uzbek mine. The Colorado-based Cyprus Minerals Co. has pledged to develop a \$100 million Siberian gold property.

Vietnam is negotiating agreements with a consortium of Australian mineral extraction companies not only for exploration but also for land management systems.

A big risk for the mining pioneers is global oversupply. With so many countries in the developing and formerly Communist worlds seeking to stimulate trade-driven free market programs by digging up their buried wealth all at the same time, the potential for a sustained glut of metals and other commodities is daunting.

"That's the \$64,000 question," said Mr. Yearly of Phelps Dodge, which is committing \$550 million, with Sumitomo Corp., to its Chilean project. "My judgment is that's probably not going to happen. But my judgment is dependent on a robust world economy in the next couple of years."

Copper, the most important metal for Chile and Phelps Dodge, has avoided an acute crisis so far, though prices lately have sunk under pressures from oversupply. But in other metal markets, a surplus is already arriving, caused mainly by a flood of exports from rapidly reforming economies of the former Soviet

Union, China and other previous Communist bastions.

Despite fears of oversupply among commodity producers, investment in newly available mine prospects in countries such as Chile shows no sign of let-up. Many resource companies see the Cold War's end as offering once-in-a-lifetime opportunities to those willing to be bold.

Phelps Dodge, for instance, estimated the costs of its La Candelaria project in Chile on an assumed copper price of 85 cents a pound but did not turn back even as copper prices fell well below that mark. The mine represents the biggest venture outside North America in the company's history.

Western resource investors are welcomed openly in today's Chile, but the government continues to own and operate the giant copper company that grew out of the 1970s nationalization: Corporación Nacional del Cobre de Chile, better known as Codelco, the largest copper producer in the world.

Codelco's open-pit mine at Chuquibambilla — an awesome, vertigo-inducing expanse more than 3 kilometers long, 2.5 kilometers wide and a 800 meters deep — is the world's largest excavated hole. That mine alone generates a sixth of Chile's national budget. The El Teniente mine in Rancagua, 115 kilometers south of Santiago, is the world's largest underground copper mine.

Despite occasional suggestions that Codelco be privatized, particularly by conservative candidates in Chile's most recent elections, few believe this is in the cards.

Chileans argue that this mixed approach — letting foreigners pay for extraction rights and operate mines while the Chilean government keeps Codelco as well as minority ownership in foreign-operated mines — makes sense.

"If there is a more profitable business than investing \$40 million and getting \$400 million for it, we'd like to hear about it," said Sergio Jara-Gibert, Codelco's manager of development at Chuquibambilla, referring to the promises in recent joint-venture deals.

STAR: Removal of BBC From Murdoch's China Menu Signals Rethinking

Continued from Page 1

have sought to control the distribution of satellite channels," said Peter Vesey, vice president of CNN International in Atlanta.

Increasingly, international broadcasters — driven as much by commercial logic as by public sensitivity — are trying to tailor their services to individual markets.

The move by News Corp., one of the world's most potent media forces, was a tacit acknowledgment that the ideal of a pan-Asian network badly needs retooling. Mr. Murdoch and News Corp. will now take a country-by-country approach both in terms of programming and politics. The BBC is planning more customized broadcasts, translating its service into a number of languages.

"It is not a retreat. It is a change of emphasis," said Bob Phillips, BBC deputy director general and chairman of World Service Television.

"The days are gone when you can broadcast into markets without local partners and local content," said an executive at a rival international Western broadcaster, who asked not to be identified.

STAR TV's chief executive, Gary Davey, at

an industry conference in Hong Kong, said the move to axe the BBC was a "purely commercial" decision based on a lack of capacity on the satellite it uses to beam its five-channel format into 38 countries across Asia.

"We've never received a formal complaint," he said, denying the suggestion that his network had acquiesced to pressure from Beijing.

"We remain convinced the pan-Asian concept is correct," said Mr. Davey, who recently came over from Mr. Murdoch's British Sky Broadcasting Ltd., which he led into profitability. "But we think it needs refinement. We are going to pay greater attention to local needs, tastes and sensitivities."

News Corp., which purchased control of the STAR TV for \$525 million in July from the Hong Kong conglomerate Hutchison Whampoa Ltd. and the family of its chairman, Li Ka-shing, has publishing, entertainment and broadcasting properties on four continents.

Citing concerns about an uncontrolled invasion of Western values, several countries in Asia have moved to restrict foreign programming to distribution on land-based cable networks that can be more easily controlled by licensing.

China, where STAR TV believes it has 30 million viewers, has recently curbed the sale and ownership of increasingly popular satellite television dishes.

The trend toward tighter control over STAR TV and other satellite broadcasters in Asia has helped protect local advertising revenues and domestic broadcasters whose programs were losing viewers to imported, racier entertainment.

The arrangement under which the BBC will continue to broadcast over STAR TV to the Indian subcontinent is "a good compromise for the BBC," said one television executive, who noted that the BBC had long pinned the bulk of its hopes on serving the huge Indian market. There is access is now guaranteed until March 1996, by which time other satellites will be available in case STAR TV should then decide to cut the cord to the BBC altogether.

Mr. Irwin, the World Service Television chief, said the BBC was "actually quite pleased."

"We have now secured our position on the southern beam," he said.

Washington & World Business

THE OUTLOOK FOR GLOBAL PARTNERSHIP
WASHINGTON, D.C. APRIL 21-22, 1994

April 20

■ Ronald H. Brown U.S. Secretary of Commerce, will be our guest speaker at the opening dinner to be held at the Corcoran Gallery of Art.

April 21

A FOREIGN POLICY FRAMEWORK FOR THE POST COLD WAR ERA
■ Warren M. Christopher U.S. Secretary of State

A REPUBLICAN RESPONSE
■ Senator Malcolm Wallop R., Wyoming

BEYOND THE URUGUAY ROUND
■ Ambassador Rufus Yerxa Deputy U.S. Trade Representative

AMERICA'S GLOBAL TRADE OBJECTIVES: STRUGGLING TOWARDS EQUITY
■ Senator Max Baucus D., Montana

THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION: SUCCESSES & SETBACKS
■ Senator Nancy Landon Kassebaum R., Kansas

THE CHANGING U.S. FINANCIAL SERVICES SECTOR
■ Robert D. Hormats Vice Chairman, Goldman Sachs International

THE INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS RACE & THE AMERICAN INFORMATION SUPERHIGHWAY
■ Larry Irving Assistant Secretary for Communications & Information, U.S. Department of Commerce

■ Gerald H. Taylor Executive Vice President, MCI Communications Services

EXPANDING BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST
■ Amnon Neutach Economic Minister, Embassy of Israel, U.S.A.

■ Sari Nusseibeh Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, D.C.

■ Toni Verstandig Deputy Assistant Secretary, U.S. Department of State

■ Moshe Wertheim President, Israel-American Chamber of Commerce & Industry

THE CHANGING BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT IN CENTRAL & EASTERN EUROPE
■ John Baitay European Counsel, Shearman & Sterling, Budapest

■ Marcello Selowsky Chief Economist for Europe & Central Asia, The World Bank

■ Frank Varga Deputy Assistant Secretary, U.S. Department of Commerce

HEALTH CARE REFORM: THE IMPLICATIONS FOR BUSINESS
■ Gregory Lawler Head of the Health Care Campaign, The White House

■ Dana Priest Principal National Desk Reporter on Health Care Reform, The Washington Post

■ Tom A. Scully Partner, Patton, Boggs & Blow, Washington, D.C.

■ Donald Striber Counsel, U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Energy and Commerce

April 22

THE ADMINISTRATION'S DOMESTIC ECONOMIC PROGRAM: IS IT ON TRACK?
■ Robert E. Rubin Assistant to the President for Economic Policy

AN OUTSIDER'S VIEW
■ Hobart Rowen Columnist, The Washington Post

THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS: ARE THEY DOING THEIR JOB?
■ H. Onno Ruding Vice Chairman, Citicorp/Citibank

U.S. ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH EUROPE
■ Lawrence H. Summers U.S. Under Secretary of the Treasury for International Affairs

THE HEART OF THE MATTER: COMPETITIVENESS IN AMERICA, EUROPE & ASIA
■ Peter J. Neff President & Chief Executive Officer, Rhône-Poulenc Inc.

THE PRESIDENT'S ECONOMIC AGENDA
■ Roger C. Altman Deputy Secretary, Department of the Treasury

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Registration Information

The fee for the conference is US\$ 1,250. This includes the opening dinner on Wednesday, April 20, both lunches, the cocktail reception and all documentation. Fees are payable in advance and will be refunded less a US\$ 125 cancellation charge for any cancellation received in writing on or before April 14, after which time we regret there can be no refund.

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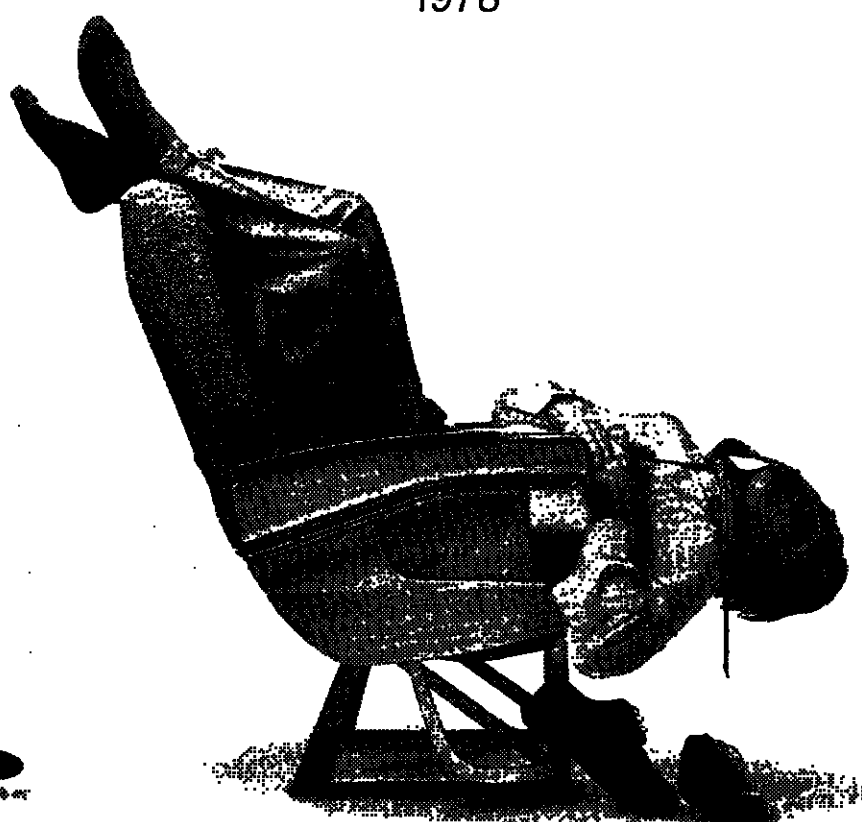
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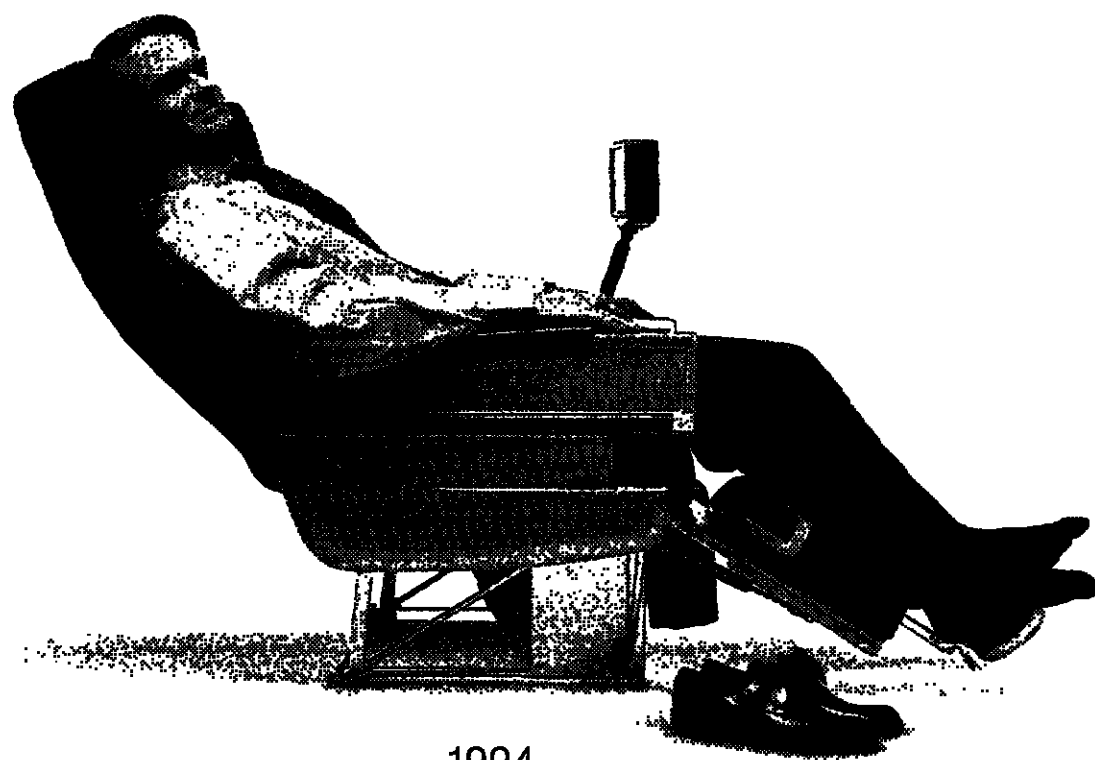
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project number 1001 after disassembling the aircraft. The plane was left in a state of disrepair. Since then, the plane has been used for various purposes. One of the most notable uses was as a mobile command center for the Zairean government. The plane was used to transport officials and to coordinate military operations. The plane was also used as a mobile office for the Zairean government. The plane was used to transport officials and to coordinate military operations. The plane was also used as a mobile office for the Zairean government.

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Herald Tribune

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

Facing Up to North Korea

Try Limited Sanctions

North Korea can still avoid a confrontation with the international community by keeping the promise it made earlier this month and allowing inspectors back into its nuclear sites to complete their work. Otherwise it may soon face economic sanctions for its noncompliance with the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.

Pyeongyang's obstinacy may leave President Bill Clinton no choice but to press for limited economic sanctions through the United Nations. But in doing so he needs to hold open the door to dialogue, which is the only way out of his, and North Korea's, nuclear predicament.

Mr. Clinton should be in no hurry to heed the advice of congressional hawks, who see economic strangulation and military posturing as the only way to bring North Korea around. If he pushes too soon for overly tight sanctions, he may end up confronting his Asian allies instead of North Korea. And if he does not carefully calibrate his military moves, he may stumble into war.

The International Atomic Energy Agency sent the right message on Monday. It told North Korea to let its inspectors do their job. And it informed the United Nations Security Council that Pyongyang had failed to live up to treaty obligations, triggering consideration of unspecified economic sanctions. Even China, which has counseled patience, abstained—a sign of the North's deepening isolation.

Hawks see tight sanctions as a way of causing North Korea's economic collapse. But America's allies, South Korea and Japan, have reason to fear the consequences of col-

lapse: having to cope with a flood of refugees and, for a rapidly developing South, having to support an economic basket case in the North.

They also fear that an embittered Kim Il Sung could order his million-man army south. Given these fears, the allies are likely to stop short of voting for truly tight sanctions that could strangle the North by cutting off its supply of oil. And China, even if it does not veto sanctions, might hesitate to carry them out. That is why any effort to impose tight sanctions immediately may prove fruitless.

Unfortunately, a limited embargo may have little more than symbolic impact on an already autarkic North. That is a chance the United Nations should take while gradually increasing pressure on North Korea. But no matter how tight the sanctions, they will leave the North free to produce plutonium for bomb-making. That will infuriate hawks, who already are rashly calling for military action.

Limited military moves make sense. South Korea has now accepted deployment of Patriot anti-missile batteries, which afford air

base and ports some protection against North Korean missile attacks. But South Korea and the United States have no need to rush ahead with joint military exercises. And more aggressive military moves will be mostly bluff. There is no attack that could surgically excise the North's nuclear program without risking all-out war on the Korean Peninsula. Indeed, no one knows how to target bombs that cannot be found. But Mr. Clinton, not the hawks, will be held responsible if their glib advice misfires.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Test for the World

North Korea, deliberately or not, has set up a test of the world's determination to enforce the rules on nuclear weapons. The North Koreans have signed a treaty pledging not to build them, but since then they have been harassing and impeding the inspectors who visit the country to see that they are keeping their promise. The latest inspection team pulled out last week, its work unfinished, just as the CIA confirmed the reports that North Korea is working on a missile capable of carrying a warhead a couple of thousand miles.

While the United States is right to proceed with great caution in dealing with North Korea, it is also right to keep pressing steadily ahead. It cannot afford to let this menacing standoff continue indefinitely. However it ends, this case will set a highly influential precedent for arms control everywhere. While they have not been entirely successful, attempts to hold down the spread of nuclear weapons have been much more effective—and have resulted in far fewer governments possessing such weapons—than seemed even remotely possible a generation ago. The diplomacy of dissuasion and prevention is well worth the effort it requires.

As a signal to North Korea, President Bill

Clinton will now send Patriot missiles to South Korea. North Korea has responded with its usual vehemence, but the Patriots are a good choice. They are wholly defensive, capable only of destroying other missiles.

At the same time, the International Atomic Energy Agency is notifying the United Nations Security Council that it was unable to complete the mandatory inspections of North Korea's nuclear facilities. The Security Council will presumably respond with a resolution warning the North Koreans that they face sanctions if they persist. China, whose attitude so far has been a study in ambiguity, will have to decide whether it is prepared to support enforcement.

Time is rapidly eroding the foundations of North Korea's Stalinist state, and perhaps a sense of that reality is the reason for the wild and desperate tone of its responses to diplomatic pressure. For the diplomats, the job is to see this dying state through its final moments and perhaps years without disaster. One possible disaster would be war with South Korea, and the North Koreans were loudly threatening it over the weekend. But a failure to enforce the world's nuclear agreements would also be a disaster—one threatening, a little further in the future, the possibility of another kind of war with far more terrible weapons.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

Shaping a U.S. Crime Bill

The House Judiciary Committee has improved on the Senate crime bill. On some issues the committee has fumbled, leaving it up to the full House membership, when the bill reaches the floor, or later to a Senate-House conference, to make it better or keep it from getting worse. Both bills have a valuable core: \$22 billion to put more police into communities, cope with bulging prisons and provide some support for prison drug treatment and other preventive programs. But the Senate, with no guidance from the White House or Justice Department, overrode on floor amendments, including the popular "three strikes, you're out" life sentencing for third-felony offenders.

The committee's "three strikes" rightly requires that at least two of the three crimes be violent. The committee also adopted an amendment by Representative Jerrold Nadler, a Democrat of New York, to allow release of non-dangerous 70-year-old three-time losers who have served 30 years of their life sentences. However modest, that is a practical advance, and the Clinton administration should be ashamed for opposing it. Even California's legislature, reacting to anti-crime fervor, has passed a three-strikes law with a sentencing range of 25 years to life.

Another Senate excess was to require states seeking federal money for their prison systems to mandate that inmates serve 85 percent of their prison terms. That subversion of state sovereignty would force states to overflow their prisons as a condition for building new ones. The House committee has wisely untied the strings attached to the \$3

billion for prison construction and operation. An even more bizarre inversion of federalism was the Senate's decision to give federal courts the power to try thousands of local gun crimes. The House committee's version: appropriately, none. Similarly, where a hysterical Senate would require 13-year-olds to be tried as adults for gun crimes, the House committee at least has the sanity to make the adult transfers discretionary.

Unfortunately, like the Senate, the House committee would restore a dozen once-outlawed death penalties to the federal criminal code and add three dozen more. These unnecessary, demagogic penalties are irrelevant to a balanced crime bill and should be scrapped. At least the committee offers a fair system for appeals from death row, and calls on states to provide adequate counsel and safeguards against racial prejudice in capital cases.

In two important ways the House committee's work is inferior to the Senate's. The Judiciary Committee chairman, Jack Brooks, carved the Senate-passed ban on assault weapons out of the House bill. He also yanked a smart Police Corps initiative providing higher education for cadets in return for police service. Both proposals require vigorous Senate-House conference work to restore them.

Last fall, the Senate piled dozens of tough-looking amendments onto its crime bill. You can expect the House to attempt the same. But hope that intelligent representatives will resist demagoguery and at least hold fast to the Judiciary Committee's improvements.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

Other Comment

Japan Is Watching the Chinese

How China's affairs develop is of serious concern to the Japanese. News that China is Japan's second-largest trading partner, and Japan is China's largest, Japan will be seriously affected if China falls into confusion. Nor is it desirable for the ties between the United States and China to be strained. China's insistence that the right to existence and development is the foundation of human rights is not

beyond comprehension. The American manner of twisting Chinese arms to extract concessions by using democratization and human rights problems as leverage is also a little too impetuous. However, respect of human rights is a universal value in any country. It is only natural that as the economy advances, the people's political demands grow louder. If China seeks long-term stability, it must honor democratization and human rights.

—Asahi Shimbun (Tokyo).

The Important Message I Carried to China

By Warren Christopher

The writer is U.S. secretary of state.

WASHINGTON — President Bill Clinton has placed America's economic strength at the heart of U.S. national security strategy in the post-Cold War world. The administration's foreign policy, like the country, stands for open societies as well as open markets. We are convinced that the two are inseparably linked.

This balance shapes our approach toward China. As the president has said, U.S. policy recognizes "the value of China and the values of America." This approach also guided my recent trip to Beijing in advance of the early June deadline for the president's decision on renewing most-favored-nation trade status.

My purpose was to inform China's leaders of the urgent need to make further progress on human rights, and to reaffirm America's intention to engage China constructively on issues where our interests coincide.

The United States seeks a broad, positive relationship with a strong, secure and prosperous China. We pursue many important common goals together. We share a powerful interest in a stable and secure Asia. Both nations have a strong interest in ensuring a non-nuclear Korean Peninsula, and we have been cooperating to achieve that objective. With drug trafficking, alien smuggling, environmental degradation and other global issues, our agenda is growing.

Our economic interests are also converging. China's explosive growth is increasingly attractive to American investors and investors. China has an even more significant stake in open access to the American market. We account for almost 40 percent of China's exports.

But we must not assume that a free market in goods can produce or protect a free market in

ideas. Nor can we abandon our responsibility to support human rights around the world. The character of our relationship with China depends significantly on how the Chinese government treats its people. The American people would have it no other way.

Last May, President Clinton forged the first consensus — a consensus of conscience — on American policy toward China since the horrors of Tiananmen Square. The core of U.S. policy, the president said, would be "a resolute insistence" on significant progress on human rights if MFN for China was to be renewed. The executive order that the president issued, broad support from business leaders and human rights advocates alike. This approach avoided more rigid legislation.

Our specific conditions for renewing MFN are reasonable. We are not asking China to apply American prescriptions, only to adhere to universal standards of human rights.

America's intention is not to isolate China but to integrate it more fully into the global community and the global economy. Since September, the administration has pursued a strategy of intensive diplomatic engagement with China to advance a range of security, political and economic goals. We have given the Chinese the incentive and the latitude to demonstrate progress on human rights.

The suggestion that the Chinese discouraged my visit is a canard. Foreign Minister Qian Qichen has been encouraging me to visit for months.

Some say I should have canceled my trip, particularly in the face of the Chinese government's

deplorable efforts to silence its citizens. That would have been a grave error. I went to Beijing to make sure that the government does not misunderstand America's position and does not underestimate the strong support that U.S. policy commands from Congress and the American people. I believe that this message now has been clearly received by China's leaders. I believe that they now realize that complacency is not an option.

In the course of very tough exchanges, we made progress on the two issues specified in the executive order. We signed a joint declaration to end exports to the United States of goods produced by prison labor. We received concrete assurances on inspections of all suspected Chinese facilities, within strict time limits. And China promised to resolve the few outstanding emigration cases.

China agreed for the first time to review interference with Voice of America signals. It agreed to begin talks with Red Cross experts to arrange visits to prisoners of conscience. It supplied information on 235 prisoners we had identified, and for the first time promised to provide information on the status of 106 imprisoned Tibetans.

I told China's leaders that these steps represented improvement, but more is needed. Particular progress is required with respect to the release of prisoners and the situation in Tibet. Anyone who has worked to advance human rights knows that it is tough, slogging work and that progress usually comes in incremental stages. I will not invent or inflate that progress.

We will be seeking and evaluating further progress as we move toward decisions on renewing MFN. That goal is attainable if Beijing truly wants a more constructive relationship.

The Washington Post

A Strong and Calm Line On Two Hot Asian Issues

By A. M. Rosenthal

NEW YORK — Step back one clear minute and we discover this about Clinton foreign policy: On two of the most important issues in the world the United States is acting with coolness and courage.

One is the issue wrapped up in the dispute with North Korea: nuclear proliferation, the creation of nuclear military power in nations given to blackmail or terrorism.

The other is the essence of the quarrel with Beijing. Should Western capital and purchasing power be used only to strengthen a Communist government built on police power, or can they also be used to lessen Communist repression?

Americans are healthy conscious of their faults, and those of their government. But when they become so immersed in national doubt and self-criticism that they seem unaware of the honorable handling of two critical problems, then hangdog becomes a way of life.

On China, the Clinton foreign policy team is trying to persuade Beijing to give the Chinese and the captive Tibetans minimal human rights. But it would help Chinese and Tibetans some. And it would allow President Bill Clinton to extend low-tariff privileges when the decision mandated by Congress comes.

Sour Irony Department: Secretary

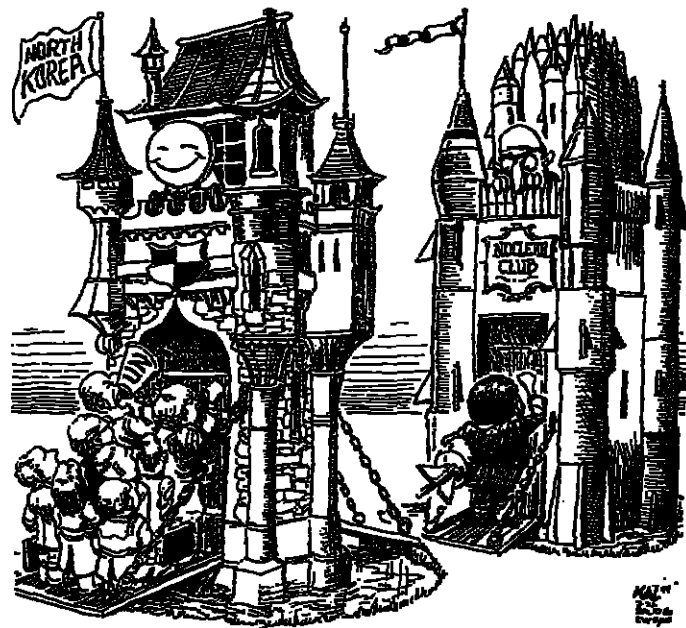
of State Warren Christopher goes to Beijing to tell the Communists they are not doing enough to justify a presidential decision to maintain low tariffs. The Chinese are nasty to him and America before he opens his mouth, and after. Back home, the Washington knives come out — not for Beijing but for Mr. Christopher, for doing his job.

Outside government, a massive campaign against linking tariff privileges to a bit of human rights progress is being carried out by Americans in the Chinese media.

Right now business with China means America buys, China sells, creating a \$20 billion U.S. deficit. One hears about jobs created by exports to China but not losses to American labor and businesses from imported goods made by dollar-a-day Chinese workers.

The government in Beijing and the Communist Party own much of Chinese industry. They keep wages low so that more money goes to the controlling partners — the army, the police, the Politburo ruling class — courtesy of the American consumer and worker.

About North Korea, the Clinton team did two things that its predecessor did not accomplish: first, face the danger of Pyongyang's nuclear empowerment; second, do something. The administration acted without bravado or hot talk.



This is too dicey an issue for that.

When North Korea tore up its nuclear treaty commitments, by refusing to allow full inspection, Washington first tried to coax the North into compliance. It offered economic and political goodies.

Maybe Washington was too gentle; I do not see it that way. For any political, military or economic action, Mr. Clinton needed the support of South Korea and Japan. Anybody who does not sympathize with Japanese or South Korean tensions should go sit in a rice field and practice waiting for an incoming missile.

Wise, Washington left the war talk to the North Koreans. Now that the United States has moved to the

United Nations to increase pressure on Pyongyang, the North Koreans got stiff. Is that a bluff or not they are guffing up with themselves that again they will start a Korean war? From Washington the world has learned that the danger of proliferation is real and upon us, and that the decision for sanctions, war or compliance with treaty is in the hands of the North Korean dictatorship.

On China and North Korea, from the administration so far has come neither enticement, entrapment, hysteria nor surrender, but a decent respect for nuclear safety and democratic idealism, at a time when both are being tested.

The New York Times

America Needs to Awake to a Newly Emerging India

By William Clark Jr.

NEW DELHI — U.S. relations with India should be on an upswing, based on the stated objectives of the Clinton administration. The government of Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao continues to liberalize the economy. The private sector is responding with enthusiasm, the American business community is starting to make substantial investments and the U.S. Commerce Department has designated India as one of the top emerging markets.

Yet lies between Washington and New Delhi are far from what they could be. On the U.S. side, there has been inattention to detail and insensitivity to change in the country. President Bill Clinton is expected to name Frank Wisner, the undersecretary of defense, as the next ambassador to India, but the post has been vacant for about a year. The delay has sent the wrong signals to India.

Washington has not given any real attention to the improvements India

has made to its economy. Indeed, the recent resurrection by the Clinton administration of the Super 301 law, which empowers the United States to punish countries deemed to engage in unfair trading, left many Indians wondering whether their economy would be used in this firing line again.

India, then, with Pakistan's incoming ambassador spouting Kashmir while presenting his credentials to the U.S. president, he responded that the United States shared Pakistan's concerns over human rights in Kashmir. This is the same Pakistan that less than a year ago was in danger of being listed by Washington as a state supporting terrorism, because of its actions in Kashmir.

New Delhi was furious. The Indian parliament passed a resolution claiming all of Jammu and Kashmir for India, including the part that Pakistan has held since the first India-

Pakistan war. Thus, the solution to the problem has become more difficult and the U.S. role in the peace process less clear.

America has strong strategic and economic interests in South Asia. It is therefore important for the Clinton administration to give higher priority to improving relations with India.

India's economy is starting to take off. Indians who left their homeland because prospects were better abroad are coming back. Wealthy expatriate Indians are for the first time investing in India.

America's focus on India's economic future should not come at the expense of U.S. interest in the human rights situation in Kashmir or in weapons proliferation in South Asia. Washington should continue to make strong presentations over such issues; they have had an effect. But U.S. interests should not become entangled in the long-standing feud between India and Pakistan.

India signed up for trade liberalization under the recently concluded Uruguay Round. It should be assured by Washington that it will not be on the new Super 301 list. Commerce Secretary Ronald Brown could give such an assurance on his planned visit to India. It would be a sign that Washington wants to put relations with New Delhi on a fresh footing.

The writer is a former U.S. assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs. He contributed this to the International Herald Tribune.

... The same men who organized the present war count on reorganizing Russia in their own interest. If they do they will have an endless resource in labor and raw material.

With these assets Germany would inevitably stamp her domination on the whole world.

Now, as all this disappears, we are trying to lecture other people on how to organize themselves, using a model that no longer has validity even for ourselves.

The writer, a former Australian diplomat, is a specialist in Chinese-Soviet affairs. He is now a professor of Japanese studies at Sophia University in Tokyo. He contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1894: Tariff Bill Row
PARIS — The Democratic members of [the U.S.] Congress are evidently not satisfied with the disturbance which the delay over the Wilson Tariff Bill has already created throughout the country. Senator Morgan, a Democrat, says that he will move an amendment to refer the whole matter to a commission. This will undo all that has been accomplished so far.

1944: Hungary Occupied
LONDON — [From our New York edition] Germany announced to-night [March 23] the occupation of Hungary "by mutual agreement" and the formation of a new collaborationist government under Field Marshal Dome Sztojay, Hungarian Minister to Berlin. An official German broadcast announced the occupation nearly four days after German troops had marched into the country, and said that under the new government Hungary would be able to use all her resources "for a final victory."

1919: Germany's Goals
WARSAW — M. Paderewski, Prime Minister, gave an interview today [March 23]. He said: "Germany made war not for honor and ideals, but for markets and raw material."

Ms. Casey is a farmer. Ms. Hobbs is a writer. They contributed this comment to The New York Times.

International Herald Tribune

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مكتبة التحصيل

OPINION

Blame the Cloister System For Ames's Long Slow Dig

By Mark Riebling

GAINESVILLE, Florida — In the argument over whether the CIA or FBI is more to blame for security lapses in the Aldrich Ames spy case, the CIA has taken the biggest beating.

In fact, the FBI bungled, too.

Still, ultimate blame for the disaster must be placed not on the FBI or CIA separately but on the system that requires their separation.

By statute, the CIA handles foreign counterintelligence while the FBI tries to catch spies at home. Because spies cross borders, this arrangement has never been very workable.

Richard Helms, the former director of central intelligence, compares it to "cutting a man down the middle."

Such breakdowns have marred interagency counterintelligence for more than 50 years.

To keep both halves from walking in opposite directions requires close liaison. Lacking that, the result can be disastrous.

The Ames affair is a good case study in the breakdowns that have marred interagency counterintelligence for more than 50 years.

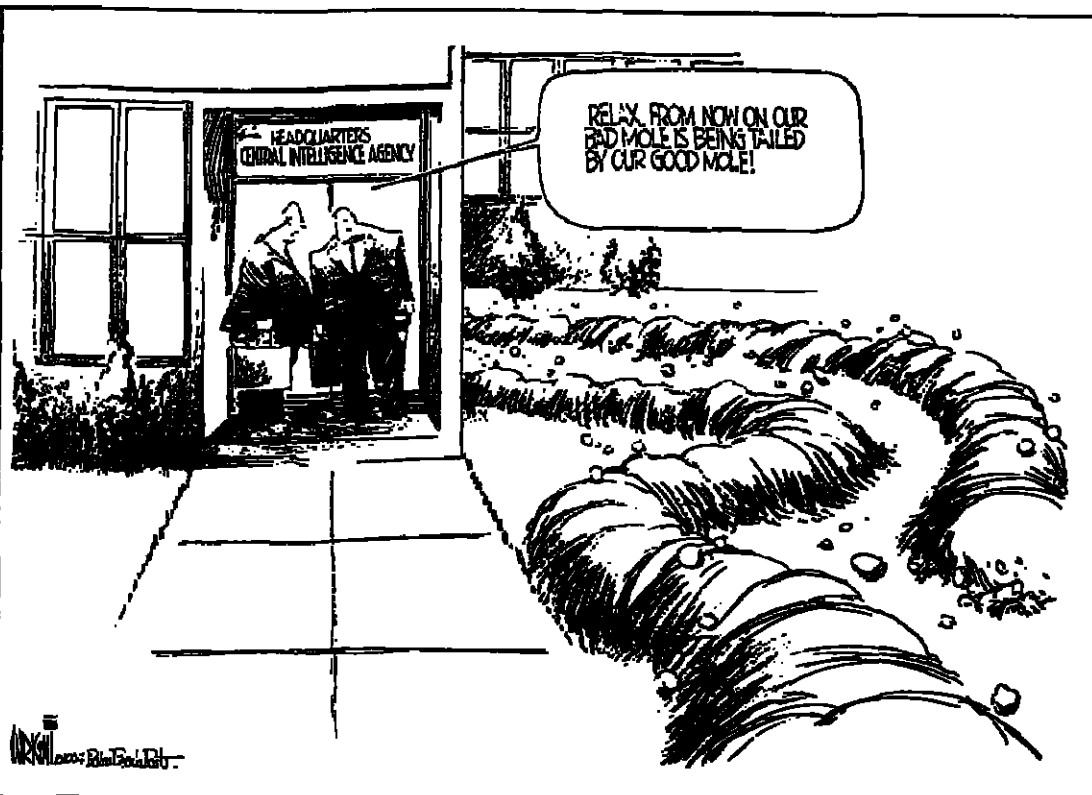
First, there is the failure to pool important facts. The CIA is said to have withheld details relevant to the FBI's investigation of suspected moles, which dated to 1985. But an affidavit filed by an FBI agent who investigated Mr. Ames suggests that the FBI also neglected to pass important data to the CIA.

The bureau learned through surveillance of the Soviet Embassy in Washington that Mr. Ames scheduled a meeting with a Soviet official on Feb. 14, 1986. Standard procedure was that the FBI would inform the CIA of such matters, so that the agency could be sure the contact was authorized. But the FBI apparently never told the CIA about the contact, which was not approved.

If it had, Mr. Ames might have been arrested eight years earlier. Such failures have been too common and costly.

FBI files show that as early as September 1941, when the Office of Coordinator of Information, predecessor of the CIA, was trying to guess Japanese strategic intentions, the bureau withheld from it a German double agent's intelligence document that showed a clear Axis interest in an attack on Pearl Harbor.

Letters intended for publication should be addressed "Letters to the Editor" and contain the writer's signature, name and full address. Letters should be brief and are subject to editing. We cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.



mission and caught Pyotr Popov, a CIA mole in Moscow, the ultimate source of the agency's tip to the bureau.

Given the intractability of FBI-CIA disputes, there have been calls for reform of the system. In every major government inquiry into U.S. intelligence failures since 1941, poor interagency liaison has been detected and denounced.

Most recently, Dennis DeConcini, chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, has promised to try to legislate, if necessary, some mechanism to guarantee future cooperation.

But, as in the past, such talk is likely

to lead only to the formation of toothless interagency committees.

Real reform — giving counterintelligence wholly to the FBI, CIA or some new third agency — will almost certainly never occur because of the fear that such a concentration of power would create an American Gestapo.

This fear is as widespread as it is unfounded. The myth is that the split between the agencies was originally created on civil-liberties grounds. But Lawrence Houston, who wrote the CIA's charter in 1947, has said the division was made for bureaucratic and constitutional reasons.

Fighting the creation of a CIA, J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI director, wanted a worldwide spy service under his authority. He argued against a geographical division of counterspy duties. When he saw that a CIA would be established, he argued that if it had any domestic security functions it could become a Gestapo. He won. Since then, in the Ames and other cases, the nation has been losing.

The writer is author of the forthcoming book "Wedge: The Secret War Between the CIA and FBI." He contributed this column to The New York Times.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

How to Deal With Kim

Although North Korea has stonewalled on the latest inspections of the International Atomic Energy Agency, the United States should continue to dangle the carrot as well as the stick. But in its future dealings, Washington had better strike deals directly with the insiders of Pyongyang instead of the outsiders, those North Korean diplomats who have no knowledge of nuclear secrets, no power to formulate policy and no courage to report anything that might displease their "great leader."

The North Korean diplomats treated so far by the Americans as partners in dialogue are good only at reporting Washington's views in a twisted and deformed way to humiliate their leader.

Consequently, Washington would be well advised to send to Pyongyang only those few people who can speak directly to the paramount leader, Kim Il Sung. They should bring their own interpreters of Korean. The key is held by no one but Mr. Kim himself. Trying to enlighten him will be the surest and

shortest path to pursue, as today's North Korean crisis stems from his leader's ignorance of the outside world.

Mr. Kim also is hankering after a meeting with Americans in order to ensure the survival and legacy of his regime, because he knows that his days are numbered. Remember that he is grimly hanging over the precipice clutching at straws. It is the North Koreans who are beckoning to Americans for their rescue.

YANG DONG CHIL
Dakar, Senegal.

Who's in Charge Here?

Regarding "Today She Would Be Frightened" (Meanwhile, March 4):

Frank Rich's grandmother is not the only one who would/should be concerned; every Jew in America and beyond should be concerned. But not just about Louis Farrakhan. They should also be questioning why NBC would permit such a horror show featuring the Nation of Islam leader. And if the talk show host Arsenio Hall doesn't know enough to

avoid promoting anti-Semitism, maybe the show's staff, not to mention the managers at NBC and the people making advertising decisions, should wake up.

A. PINES
Madrid.

Sound Familiar?

Has it ever occurred to anybody that asking for the evacuation of the Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza sounds rather like "ethnic cleansing"? There will be no chance for peace in the Middle East as long as the Arabs do not accept the idea that a (very small) minority of Jews can live in a Palestinian state, just as a (quite large) minority of Arabs lives in Israel.

ALENA HOCHMANN
Geneva.

Strictly American

Regarding "Black GIs Harassed at German Base" (Feb. 25):

This article leaves the reader with the impression that German right-wing ex-

Aunt Sarah Rather Liked Her Real Childhood Name

By Paul Spencer Sochaczewski

HONOLULU — I filled out the forms and wished my ancestors had been Burmese or Chinese. I was changing my family name, Wachtel, to my grandfather's family name, and Win or Wong would have been a lot easier to put on a new credit card than Sochaczewski.

But we have no control over whose descendants we are. My grandfather, Josef Sochaczewski, came to the United States from Kalisz, Poland, in 1912, as part of the great wave of European im-

migration into North America. His family — my grandmother Esther, my father Samuel, and my aunt, whom I always called Syd — following in 1913.

I have an old family portrait that I treasure. My bearded grandfather looks like a Polish Pavlov, my grandmother, pregnant with my uncle Bill, resembles a weary but wise Madonna. Apparently she had tuberculosis when the photo was taken; she died a year later.

It came time for little Syd to go to school. Her Aunt Lena, the only relative who spoke good English, accompanied the girl. But the school official refused to register Syd and told Lena to come back with a simpler name. Lena, thinking quickly, suggested that Syd Sochaczewski be registered instead as Syd Wachtel, which was Lena's married name.

My grandfather thought this was fine since, to him, Wachtel sounded more American than Sochaczewski. He then took the necessary legal steps to change the family name to Wachtel.

I had known the story for years but

MEANWHILE

several things had prevented me from changing my name. I was concerned that my modest, peering career would be hindered. I dreaded having to change all my records. And as an American expatriate normally based in Switzerland, I had to wait until I returned to the United States long enough to establish residence there.

The fourth problem, however, was the most important. No one in our family knew how to spell the original name. I finally got in touch with the National Archives and Records Administration in Bayonne, New Jersey, and told them what I knew about the family's arrival in America. Several weeks later, they sent me photocopies of the original folio pages of passengers arriving at Ellis Island aboard the S.S. Kaiserin Auguste Victoria, sailing from Hamburg.

It was the best use of U.S. taxpayers' money that I've come across. SOCHACZEWSKI, the folio said. I telephoned some Polish friends to learn how to pronounce it (say, SOK-HA-CHEV-SKI). I practiced my signature a few times (it still hurts my hand to write the name and I'm certainly not comfortable enough yet to scrawl it). I spelled the name on the phone to friends, first in English, then in French. It felt like I had been dealt a Scrabble hand with no vowels.

I came to Hawaii on sabbatical. The office of the lieutenant governor, Benjamin Cayetano, was helpful in walking me through the paperwork. Most Americans are immigrants, of course, but it felt somewhat suitable to go back to my Polish roots in the Hawaiian melting pot. Fanny, the Chinese woman at the East-West Center in charge of alphas (that's her real job description) organized a quasi-Chinese ceremony. We just substituted bursting balloons for firecrackers.

I changed my name not so much because I feel Polish (I don't speak a word) but because I don't feel German (and I certainly don't feel like a quail, which is how Wachtel translates). Somehow it feels right.

When I decided to make the change, I called Aunt Syd, who started all this trouble by wanting to go to school some 80 years ago. I asked why she called herself Syd. "My name was Sadie, but I never liked that name so I changed it to Syd," she explained.

"But your name isn't Sadie," I said. "It's Sarah. It says so right here on the immigration documents. Sarah. Four years old. Nationality: Russian. Race: Jewish. Final destination: Brooklyn. You were illiterate."

"Oh, my," my 85-year-old aunt replied. "If I had known that, I never would have changed my name. I rather like the name Sarah, don't you?"

The writer is a professional associate at the East-West Center in Honolulu and Head of Creative Development at WWF-World Wide Fund for Nature in Switzerland. He contributed this column to the International Herald Tribune.

CLINTON BY THE CUPFUL

In the absence of character there will always be, sooner or later, an abuse of power. What we see now in the Whitewater affair is only the first draft of a cup that has been proffered to us. We will surely drain it to the dregs as long as Mr. Clinton is president.

ELLIOTT TEPPER
Madrid.

The writer is a member of the German Bundestag.

HEINRICH LUMMER, Bonn.



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A Special Advertising Supplement in The New York Times

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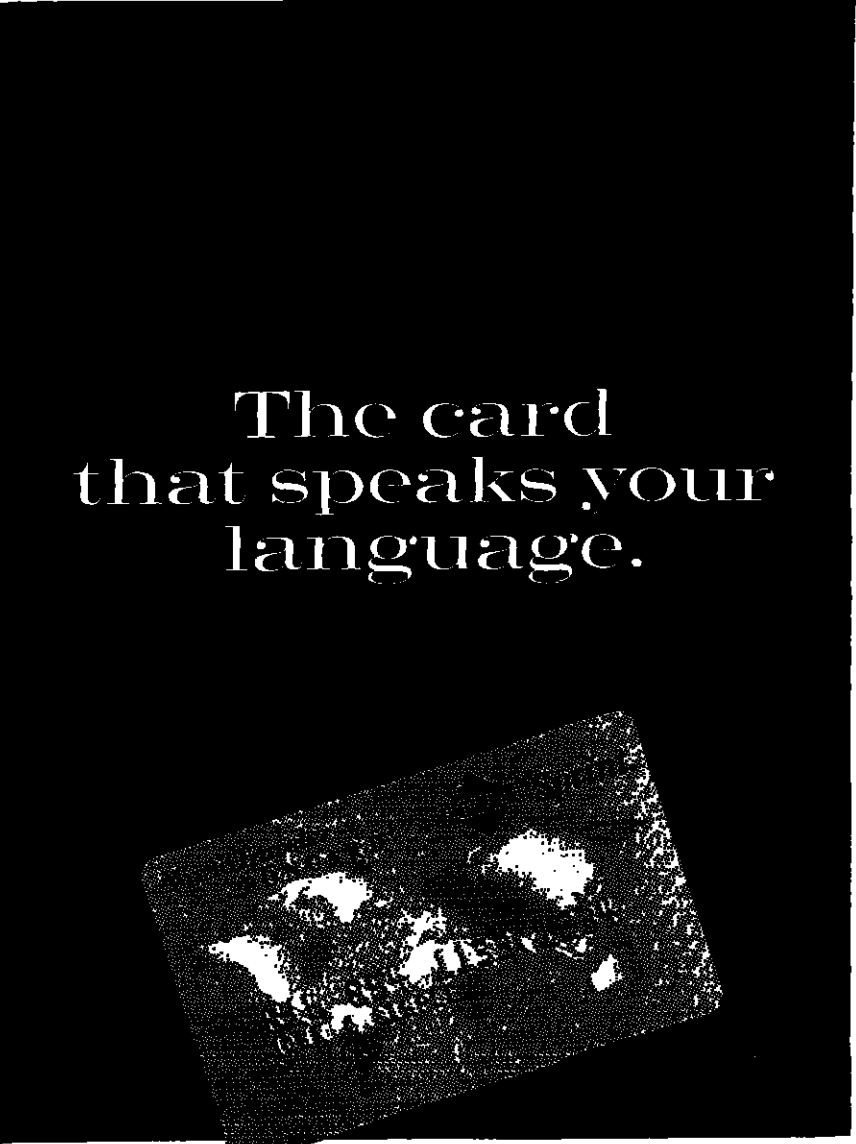
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Vienna's Volksoper: On Its Own Again and Seeking a Niche

By John Rockwell
New York Times Service

VIENNA — Many major cities — New York, London, St. Petersburg, Prague, Paris, Munich, — have two opera houses. (Berlin has three.) In all those cities, in one way or another, the second company must constantly struggle to define its role.

The big company does the big operas, meaning not only Wagner and Strauss but also the smaller core-repertoire staples: Mozart, Verdi, Puccini, maybe even Janacek and Berg.

That leaves operettas and musicals, ballets, lighter operas, modern operas, marginal operas, perhaps also mainstream operas, perhaps friskier productions, often opera in the language of the audience.

In recent years, no secondary opera company has struggled more with such questions of identity, and made more U-turns in its search

for a direction, than the Volksoper in Vienna. The city has a powerful operetta tradition, and the Volksoper in recent decades has been its primary preserver. But it has done American musicals, too, and all manner of more or less successful experiments.

The theater was founded 96 years ago as an overtly "German-Christian" spoken theater, but it soon began doing operas and operettas, for which its relatively intimate size (1,500 seats) and fine acoustics suit it well.

The theater's ties to the all-powerful Vienna State Opera have shifted over the years. Sometimes it has been a direct subsidiary of the bigger company. More often it has been independent, but with a loose working agreement not to duplicate repertoire or new productions.

In 1991, Eberhard Wächter, a baritone turned opera administrator, succeeded in amalgamating the two companies. But after his unexpected death in 1992, his successor, Ioan Holender, in his recent negotiations to renew his contract until 2002, made it a condition to spin off the

Volksoper once again on its own, as of 1996. His recommendation for a separate chief for the Volksoper was an interesting one: Klaus Bachler, who since 1992 has run the Vienna Festival and made it a Next-Wavish hotbed of experimental music theater.

Bachler is full of enthusiasm about what he calls his "Volksoper adventure."

He and Holender made it clear that the Volksoper would have its own music director. The two companies will maintain their current sharing of some singers, partly as a way of luring promising young artists to the Volksoper and partly to provide a pool of "covers," or last-minute substitutes, for the State Opera. But otherwise, Bachler will be on his own.

The performance level at the Volksoper is pretty high. Operettas look a little overlighted and cartoonish but are idiomatically sung and alertly played by the theater's orchestra. The genre is not being renewed systematically, however, and Holender evinces little interest in it. The Volksoper does marginal repertoire as

well. The latest new production has been of Bizet's "Les Pêcheurs de Perles," which, improbably, is being seen in Vienna for the first time, Holender said. This was an awkwardly updated production, but it was decently sung and well played.

BETTER still was the company's most critically admired production in recent years, of Shostakovich's "Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk." Superbly acted in a staging by Christine Mielitz that really punched home every dramatic point, this is just the sort of intensely theatrical opera that works with a smallish company like the Volksoper but too often turns into generalized rhetoric in the wide-open spaces of a major theater.

But as this mixture of operas, operettas and production styles suggests, the Volksoper lacks a ready identity. It is this profile that Bachler is eager to provide. Exactly what he's going to do is unclear, perhaps even to him.

He speaks kindly of operettas, but in updated production styles of which Holender, for one, disapproves. He wants to do unusual operas but not to concentrate on exoticism. He said that one-third of the Volksoper repertoire should be contemporary, but that he wanted to retain the current "nonintellectual" public of working- and middle-class Viennese.

About one thing he was clear. After his success in presenting novelties at the Vienna Festival, he is convinced that Viennese conservatism is "a myth." "Naturally," he added, "Verdi and Gounod have it easier in Vienna, but they do in Paris, too. Volksoper means People's Opera, and what I don't want to do is overwhelm people. Theater is not a school; it should be a seductive experience."

Whatever the past and future success of the Volksoper's service to operetta — and tourists still pile in by the busload — the freshest and funniest Viennese operetta revival of the season is not in an opera house at all but in repertory at

the Kammerspiele of the Theater an der Josefstadt: "Die lustigen Nibelungen." ("The Jolly Nibelungen") by Oscar Straus.

This is a "Ring" parody first seen in Vienna in 1904. More precisely, it is a "Götterdämmerung" parody. For all its appeal to Viennese and its German-language in-jokes, this is something that New Yorkers might especially enjoy. The reason is that the operetta was directed by Otto Schenk, the stage director of the Metropolitan Opera's "Ring," with sets and costumes by Rolf Langenhans, who did the Met's "Ring" costumes.

The result is a very funny bit of self-parody. The staging is also full of operatic in-jokes. Heinz Zednik, for years a famous Mime, finally gets to play, and skewer, Siegfried.

To see Zednik prance onstage, in a scene just like Siegfried's arrival at the Gibichung Hall in the first act of Wagner's opera, firmly fix his monocle, give a little flip with his hand and demurely coo "Hoi-ho" is to realize that comic operetta is by no means dead.

LONDON THEATER

Ralph and Walt: A Walk in Woods

'Democracy' Is an 'Issue' Play

By Sheridan Morley
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — A clearing in the woods near Washington, July 1863: Walt Whitman and Ralph Waldo Emerson are there to slug it out with two soldiers, a deserter from the South and a blinded, dying veteran from the North.

What is at issue here is not, however, the Civil War itself, but rather the soul of the United States and the fight for decency. John Murrell's ambitious, talky "Democracy" (at the Bush) is an "issue" play but the issues themselves are so vast that they are inclined to bring us drama to a grinding halt while we embark on yet another pantheistic debate.

On the one hand, Murrell gives us big Walt, forever ready to see the best in men as he shelters soldiers in his woodland glade and talks of the miracles of earthly love, even as his beloved boys are dying around him. On the other hand, there is craggy, disbelieving, Waldo, who has the evidence of his own eyes to remind him of man's inhumanity to man and the ultimate foolishness of any real optimism, especially in wartime.

John Dove's production, on a wonderfully realistic set by Robert Jones complete with growing grass and forest pools on that tiny Bush stage, sets up Hugh Ross as the

cynical Emerson against Stanley Townsend's chubby, prattling Whitman and lets them talk it out as the two soldiers (Nick Waring and Johnny Lee Miller) form their audience and ultimately the living and dying figureheads of their argument.

But Murrell never commits to one side or the other, never indicates whether he favors Emerson's worldly cynicism over Whitman's smug, rambling paternalism: a writers' conference in the middle of a bloody conflict is apt to be more something of an indulgence.

Harold Pinter's "The Birthday Party" is now on the National's Lyttelton stage in a dazzling new production by Sam Mendes, did not make much sense to its original audiences in 1958, though I am never entirely certain why they are forever being blamed for this. At the time, Pinter had only recently given up the life of a touring actor, and in one sense his play is a merciless, brilliant parody of the period, except that the Inspector never calls.

In another sense, of course, it changed forever the relationship of playwright to punter: for the first time, Pinter demanded that his spectators do some of the work for themselves, make their own connections, sort out their own puzzles instead of waiting for the dramatist to serve them a neat denouement.

Nothing here is quite what it seems, but Mendes has courageously given "The Birthday Party" back all the trappings of its times: from the bouncy Lyttelton Program radio music that introduces it, through Dora Bryson's supremely cozy seaside landings, to Bob Peck and Nicholas Woodeson as the P-movie heavies, every echo here of the late '50s gives us the perfect period flavor with which to understand and recall the background against which the play first exploded.

As the unemployed pianist whose body and soul are fought over by all the other characters, Anton Lesser remains somewhat bemused and overshadowed. But as the play moves from boarding-house revue sketch through a long night's journey back to egalitarian oppression, Trevor Peacock wonderfully indicates the price paid by the innocent bystander to the things of the state.

Best of all, though, apart from Bryan's wondrous return to the height of her comic form, is the moment when the set slides back into a street full of houses just like it: in every window a light, in every room some other kind of nameless terror.



Emma Amos and Bob Peck in Pinter's "The Birthday Party" at the Lyttelton.

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Currently on a national tour, Ken Hoare's "Glyn & I" is an intriguing slice of Hollywood history that never becomes the Wildean comedy of bad manners within which the author has framed it. In 1926 Elinor Glyn, the ro-

manic novelist who had by then taken up residence in the California hills as an adviser on historical epics, "dual castles do not have a line of spillovers, even gold ones, down the middle of the drawing room," formed an unholy alliance with Clara Bow, whom she rightly saw as the spirit of the new age.

Colette had her Gigi, Anita Loos her Lorelei, Lee, and Elinor her Clara, but Hoare's often funny and touching script gives neither Penelope Keith nor Samantha Spiro the chance to do more than sketch in some shadowy figures for Richard Cottle's gag, class production.

Paris will apparently not be getting to see Deborah Warner's new staging of Beckett's "Footfalls," which Fiona Shaw was due to play at the Maison de la Culture in Bobigny, since the author's estate has objected to a couple of minor changes in the text.

For one week only, London audiences at the Garrick did get to see this 20-minute monologue, with the spinster daughter in fine Irish rant, howling against the injustices of an unseen but occasionally heard mother. The piece remains a curtain-raiser, and should perhaps have been played with at least one other to justify an evening in the stalls.

But if the Beckett estate is attempting to freeze all the productions in their original poster state, we are going to end up pretty soon with a series of seldom-performed museum pieces rather than living dramas.

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Dining Out

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BOOKS

RUSSIA UNDER THE BOLSHEVIK REGIME

By Richard Pipes. Illustrated. 587 pages. \$35. Alfred A. Knopf.

Reviewed by Christopher Lehmann-Haupt

IN "Russia Under the Bolshevik Regime," Richard Pipes attempts to disabuse his readers of any lingering notion that the early years of Communist leadership in Russia were somehow more benign and well-intentioned than the later ones were or that there was a fundamental change in the regime following the transition from Lenin's leadership to Stalin's.

Lenin's regime was perhaps less competent in its malignity, Pipes implies. For instance, he argues that

the Reds won the civil war against the Whites (1917-1920) not because of better generalship or because their call was more compelling, but rather simply because of superior numbers and strategic position.

He writes, "When one considers the enormous advantages of the Bolsheviks, mostly the result of their early conquest of central Russia, the surprising thing is not that they won the civil war, but that it took them three years to do it."

And, for instance, he concludes of Lenin's attempts to export his revolution to Europe that its main achievement was to discredit communism and play into the hands of "national extremists who exploited the population's xenophobia by stressing the role of foreigners, especially Jews, in inciting civil unrest."

But of Bolshevism's utopian

dreams, Pipes takes an extremely dim view. He states that the civil war was waged not to beat back imperialist invaders but to carry out what Lenin "meant the global class conflict between his party, the vanguard of the proletariat, and the international bourgeoisie."

He concludes that Lenin "not only expected civil war to break out immediately after his taking power, but took power in order to unleash it."

As for what some observers have described as Lenin's more benevolent leadership, Pipes argues that all the seeds of Stalinism were sown under Lenin. From repression of dissent to the practice of mounting show trials to outright terror and murder.

Pipes's book continues and concludes his earlier history, "The

Russian Revolution" (1990), and is the eighth work on Russia written by the author, who is Baird Professor of History at Harvard University and who served in 1981-82 as President Reagan's National Security Council adviser on Soviet and East European affairs.

The period covered by the current volume is a chaotic one, particularly so the time of the civil war. Pipes meets the challenge to coherence by organizing his chapters topically: "The Civil War," "Communism for Export," "The Crisis of the New Regime," "Reflections on the Russian Revolution."

For the reader, Pipes's approach is a reward simply because it allows him to tell a great story in the most theatrical terms possible. Regardless of ideological bias, you cannot help but be caught up by his account of the struggle for the dying Lenin's mantle that was fought among Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev and Stalin.

But in the end, Pipes's purpose is not to entertain us. It is instead to persuade us that the Bolshevik Revolution was from beginning to end a catastrophe for Russia, but one that was both consistent and continuous with what he calls "Tsarist paternalism."

Of course it may be argued that Pipes is a neoconservative and a Reaganite whose book was supported by the John M. Olin Foundation, a frequent backer of conservative projects.

Still, the case he makes against a more benevolent outlook on the Russian Revolution is a powerful one. If this is history with right-wing spin, then one eagerly awaits a contrary version as compelling.

Christopher Lehmann-Haupt is on the staff of The New York Times.

At Last, Pavarotti Wows 'em in Manila

By William Branigan
Washington Post Service

MANILA — Luciano Pavarotti, battling a cough, cold and fever that forced him to cancel a concert in Manila on Friday, delivered a bravura performance on Monday night before an appreciative crowd.

"I never thought it possible to arrive at this last song," the tenor told more than 4,000 people inside the concert hall and thousands more watching outside on a huge screen. He dedicated the last of three standing-ovation encores to a local doctor, Roberto Tan, who got up and took a bow before Pavarotti finished the more than two-hour concert with "Grenada."

Accompanied splendidly by the 64-piece Philippine Symphony Orchestra, the 58-year-old opera star seemed to be struggling a bit as if focusing all his energy on surmounting his malady and hitting his notes. He appeared satisfied with his performance, however, and Philippine opera buffs were clearly thrilled.

But Pavarotti's first appearance in Manila aroused more than just the passions of opera lovers. It also became enmeshed in controversies that threatened to cast a bigger shadow than the robust tenor himself.

Arenas, a wealthy Manila socialite better known to Manilans as the former mistress of President Fidel V. Ramos. Then there was the rather awkward timing of the performance, which was originally scheduled for March 18 — the president's birthday.

Topping it off were the ticket prices. The best seats were for the equivalent of \$900 — more than a congressman's monthly salary and more than twice the price of the most expensive ticket in Malaysia, where Pavarotti had originally scheduled a public performance for Monday. His postponement here forced him to cancel that date, but he still plans to sing in a private concert for Malaysian royalty.

The steep ticket prices prompted one Philippine senator to call for the arrest of any government official who shelled out the top price for a seat as an ostentatious display of unusual wealth.

The organizers sought to take some of the sting out of the prices by setting up a large screen and speakers outside the concert hall and inviting Filipinos to watch the performance out in the open for free. According to Arenas, Pavarotti agreed to donate about \$110,000 of his \$910,000 contract price to charity in the Philippines.

When the concert date was first announced, newspapers here billed it as a birthday tribute to the late president. Pavarotti's manager and only happened to coincide with the birthday, Amelia Ramos, the president's wife, was said to be less than overjoyed about the whole thing.

So it was that when the date rolled around, Ramos and his wife of 40 years were off in the hills of the northern Philippines, marking his 66th birthday with a visit to remote mountain tribes. "Birthday in the boonies," one newspaper called the foray.

The postponement of the concert left the Ramoses with no conflict event on their schedule, but they still did not attend.

AMONG the concert-goers was a bejeweled Imelda Marcos, dressed all in black. The widow of former President Ferdinand E. Marcos has been convicted of graft and sentenced to 24 years in jail, but she remains free on bail while the case is appealed.

None of the local controversy seemed to bother Pavarotti much. When he learned of the preconcert ruckus, he said at a press conference Thursday, "I said to myself I must go to Manila. Anytime sneezing and coughing."

Pavarotti said he has long wanted to visit the Philippines, a music-loving country whose singers, dancers and musicians perform all over Asia. In 1957, his first voice teacher, Arrigo Pola, left to sing in the Philippines, Pavarotti said.

Arenas, whose fund-raising efforts helped Ramos win the 1992 presidential election and who is reputed to maintain political influence behind the scenes, dismissed the idea that she had organized the concert for Ramos, whom she met in the early 1970s when he was chief of the Philippine Constabulary. "I cannot afford to give a 25 million peso (\$910,000) birthday present to anybody, please," she said. "I'd rather buy myself a necklace."

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Herald Tribune

Published by The New York Times and The Washington Post

مكتبة النور

MARKET DIARY

Fed Rate Increase Aids Bond Prices

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
NEW YORK — The Federal Reserve Board's signal that it would allow short-term interest rates to rise sent Treasury bond prices surging and underpinned the stock market Tuesday.

Financial markets interpreted the move as a sign of the Fed's

U.S. Stocks

commitment to keeping inflation under control.

The price of the benchmark 30-year government bond jumped 15/32 point, to 92 15/32, and the yield tumbled to 6.85 percent from 6.95 percent Monday.

"There's been a big buildup of cash on the sidelines because people were uncertain about what the Fed would do and when they would do it," an analyst said. "With that uncertainty relieved, people decided the levels were looking at were attractive."

The higher bond prices allowed stock investors to focus on first-quarter corporate earnings, which are expected to be strong enough to compensate for any jitters about the longer-term effects of higher interest rates, analysts said.

While the Dow Jones industrial average slipped 2.30 points, to 3,862.55, other indexes rose and advancing issues outnumbered declining issues by a 5-to-4 margin on the New York Stock Exchange.

Telefonos de México's American depositary receipts were the most actively traded issue, surging 6 1/4% in step with Mexico's Bolsa stock index. The Mexican market was lifted by Manuel Camacho Solís' decision not to run for president.

Tobacco stocks were hit by a House subcommittee vote to raise taxes on cigarettes to \$1.25 per pack from the current 24 cents. Philip Morris fell 1 1/4% to \$24 and RJR Nabisco lost 1/4% to 6 1/4% in active trading.

Drug stocks fell on concerns of a price war on drugs used to treat high cholesterol. Merck fell 1 1/4% to \$30 1/4 and Bristol-Myers Squibb dropped 1 1/4% to \$34.

In over-the-counter trading, Novell tumbled 3 1/4% to 20 after its announcement last Monday that it intended to buy WordPerfect Corp. Several brokerage houses downgraded Novell's stock.

(Bloomberg, Knight-Ridder, AP)

RATES: Fed Moves to Tighten

Continued from Page 1

sure bonds by more than half a percentage point, and stock prices fell.

On Friday, Mr. Greenspan was called to a White House meeting with President Bill Clinton and his economic advisers, and the financial

Foreign Exchange

markets fretted that the White House would talk the Fed out of continuing to raise rates. According to some analysts, that meant Mr. Greenspan had to act to reassure markets that the Fed was still in control.

Failure to reassure the markets would mean higher long-term rates as insurance against inflation, no matter what effect it might have on the U.S. economic recovery, which has been led by falling rates for mortgage, automobile and business loans. Damned if he did, and damned if he didn't, Mr. Greenspan and his board acted Tuesday and sat back to await the consequences in the money markets in the next few days.

The question remaining to be answered is whether the Fed's action will have been enough to keep the markets reassured in the longer term. So how much of a tightening is enough?

"Whatever it is, this isn't it," said John Lipsky, chief economist of Salomon Brothers. "This level is not high enough to represent the

clear change in policy that the Fed promised."

Mickey Levy, chief economist of NationsBank, agreed that the latest move would not be the last and said the Fed would try to align policy to the economy's normal trend line of growth, which most economists now put at 2.5 percent to 3 percent a year.

Dollar Little Changed

The dollar closed little changed after the Fed's move.

The dollar slipped to 1.6884 DM from 1.6895 DM on Monday, but edged up to 105.98 yen from 105.87 yen. The U.S. currency rose to 5.7638 French francs from 5.7605 francs, but fell to 1.4301 Swiss francs from 1.4310 francs. The pound slipped to \$1.4880 from \$1.4885.

Interest Income Slides As Gota Loss Widens

Agence France-Presse

STOCKHOLM — Sweden's Gota Bank, owned by state-controlled Nordbanken since December, said Tuesday that it posted an operating loss of 13.5 billion kronor (\$2 billion) in 1993, 5 percent wider than its 1992 shortfall.

Net interest income plummeted 53 percent, to 1.72 billion kronor. Gota's problem loans, after deductions for loan loss provisions, amounted to 1.1 billion kronor.

The Dow

March 22
Dow Jones Industrial Average



NYSE Most Actives

Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
IBM	100.00	99.00	99.00	-0.25
Microsoft	45.00	44.00	44.00	-0.25
Apple	35.00	34.00	34.00	-0.25
Oracle	25.00	24.00	24.00	-0.25
Novell	20.00	19.00	19.00	-0.25
Intel	15.00	14.00	14.00	-0.25
Compaq	10.00	9.00	9.00	-0.25
HP	8.00	7.00	7.00	-0.25
Motorola	6.00	5.00	5.00	-0.25
Texas Instruments	5.00	4.00	4.00	-0.25

NASDAQ Most Actives

Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
Novell	20.00	19.00	19.00	-0.25
Microsoft	45.00	44.00	44.00	-0.25
Apple	35.00	34.00	34.00	-0.25
Oracle	25.00	24.00	24.00	-0.25
Novell	20.00	19.00	19.00	-0.25
Intel	15.00	14.00	14.00	-0.25
Compaq	10.00	9.00	9.00	-0.25
HP	8.00	7.00	7.00	-0.25
Motorola	6.00	5.00	5.00	-0.25
Texas Instruments	5.00	4.00	4.00	-0.25

AMEX Most Actives

Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
IBM	100.00	99.00	99.00	-0.25
Microsoft	45.00	44.00	44.00	-0.25
Apple	35.00	34.00	34.00	-0.25
Oracle	25.00	24.00	24.00	-0.25
Novell	20.00	19.00	19.00	-0.25
Intel	15.00	14.00	14.00	-0.25
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HP	8.00	7.00	7.00	-0.25
Motorola	6.00	5.00	5.00	-0.25
Texas Instruments	5.00	4.00	4.00	-0.25

Market Sales

NYSE	AMEX	OTC
100,000,000	10,000,000	1,000,000
100,000,000	10,000,000	1,000,000
100,000,000	10,000,000	1,000,000
100,000,000	10,000,000	1,000,000
100,000,000	10,000,000	1,000,000
100,000,000	10,000,000	1,000,000
100,000,000	10,000,000	1,000,000
100,000,000	10,000,000	1,000,000
100,000,000	10,000,000	1,000,000

British Steel to Snub EU Output Meeting

LONDON — British Steel PLC said on Tuesday its chief executive, Brian Moffat, would boycott talks between the European Commission and the European steel industry as long as the European Union allows state subsidies.

Martin Bangemann, commissioner for industry, has called a meeting on Wednesday with European private-sector steel companies to discuss a plan to cut Europe's steel-making capacity to restore profitability.

"British Steel will not participate in further discussions about a capacity reduction plan as long as the commission does not act against subsidies," a spokesman for the company said.

British Steel, which was privatized in December 1988, has been a vociferous campaigner against state subsidies to its ailing European rivals.

In December, Mr. Bangemann struck a deal under which state-owned companies in Germany, Italy, Portugal and Spain agreed to cut production by 5.5 million metric tons. But he also allowed their respective governments to pay them subsidies of \$7.7 billion, angering the private sector.

Bavaria Sells Aerospace Stake to Daimler-Benz

MUNICH — The state of Bavaria said Tuesday it would sell its 8.58 percent stake in Deutsche Aerospace AG to parent company Daimler-Benz AG for 424 million Deutsche marks (\$250 million).

Edmund Stoiber, Bavaria's premier, said the major reason for the sale was Deutsche Aerospace's refusal to hold back on plans to slash its workforce.

(Reuters, AFP)

WORLD STOCK MARKETS

Agence France-Presse March 22

Class Prev. High Low Last Chg.

Amsterdam

ABN AMRO 100.00 99.00 99.00 -0.25

AFG 100.00 99.00 99.00 -0.25

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U.S. FUTURES

March 22

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Wheat

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Hoechst Sees Mild Upturn After 31% Profit Slide

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
FRANKFURT — Hoechst AG, Germany's largest chemicals company, said Tuesday that its operating profit tumbled 31 percent, to 1.48 billion Deutsche marks (\$869 million) in 1993, but it predicted an improvement in 1994 in line with economic recovery in the United States and Western Europe.

The company was noticeably less optimistic about its business prospects, however, than its rivals Bayer AG and BASF AG, which both predicted a rise in their annual results last week. Bayer predicted its profit would rise by up to 20 percent this year, while BASF saw the climb in earnings of the first two months continuing.

Earnings at chemicals companies in Germany have plunged in the 1990s as demand shrank from the recession-plagued manufacturing industry for basic chemicals such as plastics and fibers.

Hoechst said its key chemicals and dyes division posted an operating profit of 162 million DM in 1993, down from 321 million DM the year before.

Its fiber division, meanwhile, posted operating profit of 220 million DM, roughly half of the 422 million DM earned a year before.

Hoechst also announced it would float part of Hoechst Celanese Corp., its U.S. unit, but not before

1996. A spokeswoman for the U.S. company said that details remained to be worked out and that "it's too early to talk about how much of Hoechst Celanese will be floated."

Wolfgang Hilger, chairman of Hoechst, said the company was "expecting a slight upturn in demand and marginally higher sales volume" this year.

Management said sales for the parent company rose 5 percent in the first two months of 1994. Jur-

'It still needs to do a lot more restructuring.'

Sven Dopke, analyst at M.M. Warburg in Hamburg.

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Analysts said Hoechst would have to wait longer than its rivals to see a clear improvement in profit because it had embarked too late on major rationalization measures.

"It still needs to do a lot more restructuring," said Sven Dopke, an analyst at M.M. Warburg in Hamburg.

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Financial Picture Still Dismal for Crédit Lyonnais

By Jacques Neher

International Herald Tribune

PARIS — One year ago, when Crédit Lyonnais reported a record loss of 1.8 billion francs (\$312 million), its then chairman, Jean-Yves Haberer, promised there would be no more bad news and that the world's eighth-largest financial institution, with assets of 1.93 trillion francs, was ready to make a comeback in an economic upswing.

But Thursday, when his successor, Jean Peyrelevade, laid out his restructuring strategy, it was clear that there will be much more bad news. It also is clear that French taxpayers and the bank's big competitors, such as Banque Nationale de Paris and Société Générale, will be forced to bear much of the pain of a large government bailout.

Analysts are bracing for a 1993 loss of anywhere between 2 billion and 26 billion francs, depending on how far the government thinks it can go to financially restructure the state-owned bank without sparking a revolt by private-sector institutions or triggering a refusal by the European Commission for violations of its restrictions on state aid.

On Tuesday, Edmond Alphandery, the finance minister of France, confirmed that the government plans to inject a significant amount of cash into the bank, while also permitting it to clean its 54 billion-franc real estate loan portfolio of doubtful loans.

"The state will do its duty — there will be a recapitalization of Crédit Lyonnais," Mr. Alphandery said, although he did not hint of the amount to be awarded.

The troubled property loans — which are reported to total 40 billion francs — will be transferred to a separate company that will be guaranteed by the state. Mr. Peyrelevade also is expected to detail his plan to reduce the bank's industrial holdings, which include 20 per-

cent stakes in Aerospatiale and Usinor-Sacilor, both of which are losing money.

Even if the balance sheet is cleared, ominous clouds will still be hovering over the bank for months because of the legal war over Crédit Lyonnais' involvement in the takeover of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Inc. by the Italian financier Giancarlo Parretti. The bank took control of the Hollywood studio when Mr. Parretti defaulted on his loans.

In February, Mr. Haberer, now chairman of Crédit National, and François Gille, the managing director of Crédit Lyonnais, were charged by a Swiss judge with complicity in the 1992 bankruptcy of Sasea SA, a company involved in the MGM deal and headed by Mr. Parretti's associate, Florio Fiorini.

On another front, Crédit Lyonnais and MGM are set to go to trial in June in Los Angeles against Kirk Kerkorian and other former executives of MGM. Crédit Lyonnais claims it was deceived about the studio's financial status when it funded Mr. Parretti's acquisition in 1990. Mr. Kerkorian's \$500 million countersuit against the bank is set to be heard at the same time.

"They're getting hit on all sides," said Sheila Garrard, analyst with Lehman Brothers in London. She was predicting a loss of 2 billion to 4 billion francs, although she said her prediction could be well off the mark. "It's impossible to know the quality of the bank's assets," she said.

Cash injections of 4 billion to 5 billion francs have been postulated over the past few months, but analysts now say even that sum might prove woefully inadequate.

"4 billion plugs a hole, but not much more than that," said Sasha Serafimovskii, banking analyst at Merrill Lynch & Co. in London.

In September, the bank reported a loss of 1.05 billion francs for the first half of 1993.

Air France Cuts Deal On CSA

Bloomberg Business News

PRAGUE — The Czech Republic's state-owned Konsolidacni Banka agreed Tuesday to pay \$27 million for Air France's stake in CSA, the Czech airline.

The agreement will end Air France's 19.1 percent shareholding in CSA and diminish the role of a second large shareholder, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Czech Transport Ministry officials said.

The European Bank will keep its 19.1 percent CSA stake, and Konsolidacni Banka has agreed to guarantee the development bank's original \$30 million investment. But the EBRD will give up its seat on CSA's board and lose the right to veto major management decisions.

The Czech government has been intent on pushing Air France out of CSA and has been negotiating for weeks with the French airline.

But a side agreement between Air France and the EBRD, which Czech government officials say they only recently learned about, has been a sticking point in negotiating the deal. That agreement, which dates to a time when Jacques Attali was president of the European Bank and his twin brother, Bernard, was chairman of Air France, obligated Air France to guarantee part of the EBRD's investment.

Now, Konsolidacni Banka has assumed an option to buy the European Bank's stake in CSA at any time. Under the new agreement, the European Bank must keep its stake until 1997 unless Konsolidacni decides to exercise that option, but between 1997 and 1999 the European Bank has the option to sell its stake to Konsolidacni for its original investment of \$30 million.

Investor's Europe

Frankfurt DAX	London FTSE 100 Index	Paris CAC 40
2300	3500	2400
2200	3400	2300
2100	3300	2200
2000	3200	2100
1900	3100	2000
1800	3000	1900
1700	2900	1800
1600	2800	1700
1500	2700	1600
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1300	2500	1400
1200	2400	1300
1100	2300	1200
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700	1900	800
600	1800	700
500	1700	600
400	1600	500
300	1500	400
200	1400	300
100	1300	200
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Very briefly:

- Renault Vehicules Industriels, the truck-making subsidiary of the French automaker Renault, said its 1993 net loss narrowed to 1.40 billion francs (\$243 million) from 1.62 billion in 1992, thanks to improved operating margins and a resurgent U.S. demand.
- Denmark launched its largest privatization effort so far with the sale of 48.3 percent of Tele Danmark A/S; the sale is expected to bring about 20 billion kroner (\$3 billion).
- Bowater PLC, the British packaging company, earned £211.9 million (\$315 million) before taxes in 1993, up sharply from the pretax £147.2 million earned in 1992; results were lifted by the purchase of Tower Packaging, the medical-packaging company.
- Bayerische Hypotheken & Wechsel-Bank AG, the German bank, said it earned 1.035 billion Deutsche marks (\$613 million) in 1993, a 33 percent increase from 1992, helped by gains on investments such as mortgage bonds.

Reuters, AP, Bloomberg

Lazard and Crédit Agricole Reach Accord

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

NEW YORK — The business of derivatives needs brains, to concoct complex financial transactions, and brains for the financial strength to stand by what are generally private contracts that can extend as long as 10 years.

So when Lazard Frères, the brainy weakling of investment houses, decided to start trading derivatives, it needed a muscular partner. On Tuesday, it announced

a joint venture with Crédit Agricole of France, the 11th-largest bank in the world.

Lazard, which is actually three interlocking partnerships in New York, London and Paris, is minimally capitalized; Crédit Agricole, with about \$300 billion in assets, carries a double-A credit rating.

Derivatives are a broad category of transactions whose value is based on, or derived from, movements in prices of stocks, interest rates, currencies or commodities.

Common examples include options that protect investors from declines in the stock market, or swaps that allow corporations to lock in certain interest rates on their borrowing.

The new firm will be called Crédit Agricole-Lazard Financial Products Ltd. and will be organized as a commercial bank based in London. Three-quarters of the capital will be contributed by the bank, and one-quarter will come from the three Lazard houses. (NYT, APX)

STONES: De Beers Is Setting Asia Aglitter With Its Marketing Campaign

Continued from Page 11

the end of colonialism and other upheavals. But the end of the Cold War and the rapid integration of the global trading economy more recently threatened the cartel with a new crisis. How it is rebounding, and how it is attempting to secure its future in the developing countries of Asia, is a tale emblematic of the changing world economy.

De Beers' London-based Central Selling Organization, which buys up about 80 percent of the world's gem diamond production, describes its mission as "the continuing stability and prosperity of the diamond industry." Its success depends on control. Measured by value, De Beers itself mines about half of the world's gem diamonds. Through purchasing agreements it absorbs most of the rest.

De Beers also controls sales: The world's diamond supply is transported from mine heads to head office in London's Charterhouse Street, where it is sorted, valued and then resold at periodic "sights" to an invitation-only group of diamond cutters and wholesalers, the "sightholders." The sightholders produce finished loose diamonds or diamond jewelry and sell these to manufacturers, retailers or the public.

Globally, the Cold War's sudden demise threatened De Beers for two reasons. The Soviet Union was a diamond mining giant, producing an estimated \$1.5 billion in diamonds annually. The union's disintegration meant that its diamond industry, with which De Beers had made secret purchasing agreements, was up for grabs. The danger arose that local miners might take their diamonds directly to cash markets, bypassing De Beers.

Meanwhile, Moscow and Washington made a deal to abandon their proxy war in diamond-laden Angola. When peace took hold there, impoverished Angolans flocked to diamond-rich areas formerly closed by war, grabbed all the diamonds they could find and began selling them piecemeal for cash in open markets. In 1992, Angolan diamond sales almost tripled from past levels of just above \$200 million to nearly \$600 million, according to De Beers.

Fighting back, De Beers moved to plug the leaks on its supply side. Cartel executives in Moscow hammered out revised purchasing agreements with Russia, arguing that without De Beers, the long-term value of Russia's diamond resources would sink. And cartel buyers stepped up activity in diamond cash markets, soaking up about two-thirds of the excess Angolan diamonds.

Amid this uncertainty about supply, the cartel faced daunting challenges on its consumption side. In the United States, Japan and Europe, overall sales of diamond jewelry have flattened since 1987. To prosper on a worldwide scale in the next century, cartel executives knew they had to extend their marketing pitch in a new direction — to the East.

"It was somebody sitting in a bar

one night" during a Hong Kong business trip, recalled Jonathan Pudney, a young, British-born De Beers marketing manager for Asia. "We were looking for something. We were talking about it... It was an American who came up with it... For Me. For Now. Forever."


Today that simple slogan — with both an appeal to self-gratification and an evocation of lasting value — is beaming into Asia via satellite television, splashing across colorful magazine ads and beckoning from displays on jewelry counters from Seoul to Bangkok.

Selling diamonds requires penetration of a society's most enduring cultural rituals: courtship, marriage engagements, wedding ceremonies and wedding anniversaries. In Asia, such rituals are in flux because societies themselves are in flux, infused with dynamic economic growth. Arranged marriages are yielding to Western-style "love matches" among the young middle classes. Women are headed to work in large numbers, leaving behind their inherited family roles.

To try to capitalize on changing habits, De Beers' researchers are conducting intensive surveys of Asian attitudes toward love, marriage and diamond jewelry.

In Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines and Indonesia, De Beers is adjusting its campaign to take account of the surging yuppie classes.

Seizing diamond ads go to those Asian countries where "what you're seeing now is young people who have never known hard times," as Mr. Pudney said.



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FIDELITY SPECIAL GROWTH FUND

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Kansallis House
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L-1021 Luxembourg
R.C. Luxembourg B 20095

NOTICE OF ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Notice is hereby given that the Annual General Meeting of the Shareholders of FIDELITY SPECIAL GROWTH FUND, a société d'investissement à capital variable organized under the laws of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg (the "Fund"), will be held at the principal office of the Fund, Kansallis House, Place de L'Etoile, Luxembourg, at 11:00 a.m. on March 31, 1994, specifically, but without limitation, for the following purposes:

1. Presentation of the Report of the Board of Directors.
2. Presentation of the Report of the Auditor.
3. Approval of the balance sheet and income statement for the fiscal year ended November 30, 1993.
4. Discharge of the Board of Directors and the Auditor.
5. Election of six (6) Directors, specifically the re-election of Messrs. Edward C. Johnson 3d, Barry R. J. Bateman, Charles T. M. Collis, Sir Charles A. Fraser, Jean Hamillius and H. F. van den Hoven, being all of the present Directors.
6. Election of the Auditor, specifically the election of Coopers & Lybrand, Luxembourg.
7. Declaration of a cash dividend in respect of the fiscal year ended November 30, 1993.
8. Consideration of such other business as may properly come before the meeting.

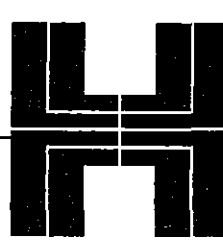
Approval of items 1 through 7 of the agenda will require the affirmative vote of a majority of the shares present or represented at the Meeting with no minimum number of shares present or represented in order for a quorum to be present.

Subject to the limitations imposed by the Articles of Incorporation of the Fund with regard to ownership of shares which constitute in the aggregate more than three percent (3%) of the outstanding shares of the Fund, each share is entitled to one vote. A shareholder may act at any meeting by proxy.

Dated: February 17, 1994

BY ORDER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Fidelity Investments



Highlights 1993

Hongkong Land

Strong Growth in Property Values

- Net asset value per share +50%
- Earnings per share +0.5%
- Dividends per share +5%
- Extraordinary profit on sale of property US\$213 million
- Property portfolio US\$7,857 million
- Shareholders' funds US\$7,680 million
- Net debt US\$82 million
- Investment properties fully let
- US\$410 million 7-year Convertible Bonds issued
- Trafalgar House balance sheet strengthened

"The Hong Kong commercial property market remains strong, and the Group's rental income will begin to grow once again in 1994 on the back of the positive rental reversions which are now being achieved. The Group has the financial strength and the resources to exploit new property and infrastructure-related opportunities in Hong Kong or elsewhere."

Simon Keswick, Chairman
21st March 1994

1993 RESULTS

	Year ended 31st December	
	1993	1992
	US\$m	US\$m
Net income from properties	392.5	390.5
Operating profit	374.6	368.8
Share of results of associates	(20.6)	0.5
Other income	19.2	4.5
Net financing charges	(17.1)	(18.5)
Profit before taxation	356.1	355.3
Taxation	(48.6)	(50.3)
Profit after taxation	306.5	305.0
Extraordinary item	213.2	-
Profit attributable to Shareholders	519.7	305.0
Dividends	(261.7)	(248.6)
Retained profit for the year	258.0	56.4
Shareholders' funds	7,679.7	5,102.9
	US\$	US\$
Earnings per share	11.71	11.65
Dividends per share	10.00	9.50
	US\$	US\$
Net asset value per share	2.93	1.95

Hongkong Land Holdings Limited
Incorporated in Bermuda with limited liability



A member of the Jardine Matheson Group

The final dividend of US\$6.85 per ordinary share will be payable on 7th June 1994, subject to approval at the Annual General Meeting to be held on 31st May 1994. To Shareholders on the register of members at the close of business on 8th April 1994, and will be available in cash with a scrip alternative. The share registers will be closed from 11th to 15th April 1994 inclusive. The dividend will be available in United States Dollars, Hong Kong Dollars and Sterling. Shareholders on the Jersey branch register will receive United States Dollars while Shareholders on the Hong Kong branch register will receive Hong Kong Dollars, unless they elect for one of the alternative currencies by notifying the Company's registrars or transfer agents by 20th May 1994. Shareholders whose shares are held through the Central Depository System in Singapore ("CDP") will receive Hong Kong Dollars, unless they elect through CDP to receive United States Dollars.

Tuesday's Closing
Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect the trades elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

12 Month High Low Stock Div Yld PE 100s SS High Low Latest Crge

12 Month High Low Stock Div Yld PE 100s SS High Low Latest Crge

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12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100

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Continued on Page 17

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Fundamentals Get Attention In Hong Kong

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

HONG KONG — Stock investors, who analysts said may have started to look again at fundamental factors, turned their attention toward Washington after trading ended Tuesday.

"I think it's a fundamentals catch-up," Nicholas Peacock, research director at Schroders Securities (Hong Kong), said Tuesday after Hong Kong shares recovered some of their big losses of the previous two sessions.

The Hang Seng Index of 33 leading stocks rose 345.14 points, or 3.98 percent, to close at 9,012.17, as buying based on corporate earnings prospects overwhelmed selling based on interest-rate concerns.

The index had tumbled 4.00 percent Friday and 5.09 percent Monday to end at its lowest level since Oct. 14, 1993.

In other Asian and Pacific markets, shares in Sydney managed a slight gain, and analysts said Hong Kong's rebound helped sentiment in Singapore. But Tokyo's main stock index fell about 1 percent.

The Asia/Pacific component of the International Herald Tribune World Stock Index was a little lower at 127.03, down 0.30, after Asian trading ended.

Alex Tong, a fund manager for Barclays de Zotte Wedder Investment Management (HK), said investors had started buying again in the belief that Hong Kong shares had fallen to attractive levels.

He said they were basing their decisions on fundamentals such as corporate earnings, rather than on optimism about growth prospects for Hong Kong and China.

As the Hong Kong market surged in the final quarter of 1993, "fundamentals really weren't regarded," Stuart Cook, chief executive at Morgan Grenfell Asia Securities, added.

Analysts said the direction that Hong Kong shares take Wednesday was likely to depend on whether the U.S. Federal Reserve Board's policy-making committee acted to raise interest rates.

U.S. interest-rate increases often trigger rate increases in Hong Kong, because the territory's currency is pegged to the U.S. dollar. But Hong Kong banks, which meet every Friday to consider rates, have not yet matched the quarter-point rise that the Fed announced in its federal funds rate on Feb. 4.

In Sydney, the All Ordinaries Index closed just 0.3 point higher, at 2,140.80, after being down nearly 15 points at its session low.

In Tokyo, stocks drifted lower in subdued trading, with investors reluctant to make major moves ahead of the end of the Japanese fiscal year on March 31. The Nikkei 225-stock average ended 215.92 points lower, at 20,253.53.

The Straits Times Industrials index in Singapore gained 8.74 points to close at 2,045.04.

(Bloomberg, Reuters)

Offices: Where the Fat Is in Japan

White-Collar Workers Fall Far Short in Productivity

By Andrew Pollack

New York Times Service

TOKYO — Takeharu Inuzuka hunched over his work space amid the sea of desks that make up Toyota Motor Corp.'s Europe and Africa planning division. He was putting the finishing touches on a sales presentation to be made by another executive in a few days.

The speech, about Toyota's latest European results and its plans for the coming year, would last 30 minutes. But preparing it had taken virtually all Mr. Inuzuka's time for two months, including many late nights and one time when he stayed in the office until 6 A.M.

Much of the time was spent repeatedly revising the text and the slides, often by hand instead of on a computer. There also were frequent meetings with managers at different levels to review the presentation.

Toyota may be the most efficient automaker in the world, and its "lean production" techniques have been widely imitated. But a tour of an office such as Mr. Inuzuka's to see how a sales presentation is put together reveals a less formidable side of Japan.

Many Japanese companies, which have concentrated on improving their factories, are finding their profits dragged down by bloated administrative staffs. Time is eaten up in countless meetings. Offices are more cramped and less computerized than their American counterparts, and women remain almost exclusively in clerical roles.

Japan's legions of salaried, or *salarymen*, have long been famous for their dedication and grueling workdays. But only now is the question being asked: Just how much are they really getting done?

"Japan's white-collar productivity problem is of such scope that it can only be called a national competitiveness issue," Shintaro Hori, a vice president of Bain & Co. Japan, wrote in the Harvard Business Review recently. Mr. Hori estimated that Japanese companies had 15 percent to 20 percent more workers than they needed.

The problem, he and others said, is that the Japanese style of management by consensus means slow decision-making and numerous meetings. The value placed on personal relationships means relatively little business gets done by telephone.

Also time-consuming is the process of *nemawashi*, or laying the groundwork, in

Many companies are finding profits dragged down by bloated administrative staffs.

which one wins approval for a proposal in advance of the meeting at which it is discussed. That assures the meeting will be free of confrontation, but it often means wasted time.

In addition, the Japanese tradition of lifetime employment makes it difficult to trim payrolls, even when companies such as Toyota are trying to cut costs.

Toyota has been more aggressive than many others in trying to control administrative costs. But as a day in the life of a middle manager shows, there is room for improvement.

The Europe and Africa planning division occupies half a large room on the seventh floor of Toyota's 17-story office building in Tokyo. (The company's headquarters are near Nagoya, in central Japan.)

About 110 people work in the room and, as is typical of Japanese offices, they work out of desks. Desks are crammed together in clusters called islands, so a worker typically has one colleague on either side and one directly across.

At one of those identical desks in one of those islands sits Mr. Inuzuka, 33, the assistant manager, market analysis and planning group, Europe and Africa planning division. His most recent job was to prepare the

sales presentation to be delivered to Toyota's European distributors in Geneva on March 7.

Between Jan. 6 and early March, Mr. Inuzuka said, he had five meetings to discuss the presentation with his manager, six meetings with the general manager of the Europe and Africa planning division and three meetings that included the director of the European divisions. Many other people also attended those meetings, which tended to last an hour or two.

As a newcomer to European operations, Mr. Inuzuka had to gather a lot of data. He stayed late in his office many nights to call Europe. He also sent many faxes; Toyota does not yet have electronic mail connecting its offices in Tokyo and Europe.



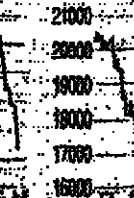
On Jan. 13, Mr. Inuzuka produced his first draft. On big pieces of paper, he drew, by hand, a picture of what each slide would look like, and in an adjacent box wrote the proposed narration. On Jan. 17, after some discussions, he did a complete revision, followed by additional revisions on Jan. 21, Jan. 27 and Feb. 7. Some of those revisions involved writing and drawing everything all over again.

On Jan. 24 Mr. Inuzuka sent the first batch of drawings to an outside company that was to make the slides, using graphics software on a personal computer. On Feb. 8 he sent more. He wrote the English text on a personal computer and sent the floppy disk to the outside company.

Finally, after many discussions and revisions by the outside company, presentations to be handed out at the Geneva meeting were wheeled into the office on March 2.

Looking back, Mr. Inuzuka said: "I was 100 percent devoted to the presentation for the marketing meeting. I haven't done anything other than that." While he acknowledged that his office could make better use of computers to improve productivity, he defended the many steps he took to prepare the presentation. He also said he did not think he could have gone much faster. "That," he said, "was the minimum that was required."

Investor's Asia

Hong Kong Hang Seng	Singapore Straits Times	Tokyo Nikkei 225		
				
Exchange	Index	Tuesday Close	Prev. Close	% Change
Hong Kong	Hang Seng	9,012.17	8,687.03	+3.98
Singapore	Straits Times	2,045.04	2,036.30	+0.43
Sydney	All Ordinaries	2,140.80	2,140.50	+0.01
Tokyo	Nikkei 225	20,253.53	20,488.45	-1.05
Kuala Lumpur	Composite	867.48	854.18	+1.56
Bangkok	SET	1,237.32	1,204.12	+2.74
Seoul	Composite Stock	877.85	885.65	-0.87
Taipei	Weighted Price	5,261.84	5,220.73	+0.78
Manila	Composite	2,563.60	2,598.00	-1.32
Jakarta	Stock Index	488.47	499.51	-2.67
New Zealand	NZSE-40	2,206.93	2,255.34	-2.15
Bombay	National Index	1,834.02	1,851.59	-0.95

Sources: Reuters, AFP International Herald Tribune

Very briefly:

- BP Exploration Operating Co. said a consortium led by it signed a pact to prospect for oil in China's Tarim Basin, which some industry specialists say may hold nearly as much oil as Saudi Arabia.
- Jardine Fleming Holdings said 1993 net profit more than doubled, to \$202 million from \$75.8 million in 1992, on the strength of Asia's equity-market boom. Mandarin Oriental International Ltd., also part of the Jardine Matheson Holdings Ltd. group, said profit after taxes and minority interests rose to \$40.8 million from \$40.3 million.
- Singapore will spend \$52 million Singapore dollars (\$53 million) this year to develop port facilities, its communications minister said.
- South Korea cut its probation period on securities firms to two years from three years. The change allows Nomura Securities Co., which had been disqualified for alleged dealings with Japanese organized-crime figures, to open a branch office in Seoul.

Apple in Licensing Talks for Japan

The Associated Press

TOKYO — Apple Computer Inc. is having "fairly intense" discussions with several Japanese companies about licensing its Macintosh computer operating system, Michael Spindler, the president of Apple, said Tuesday.

Mr. Spindler would not specify which companies were involved in the talks.

Under Mr. Spindler, who became president last year, Apple has departed from its longstanding policy of not licensing the Macintosh operating system. It has said it is willing to share it with computer makers who are not apt to slash prices and launch a price war.

By licensing the operating system — the basic software that runs a computer — Apple hopes to reduce the worldwide dominance of IBM-compatible personal computers and Microsoft Corp.'s Windows software.

Japan is Apple's second-largest market after the United States. Apple was the second-largest personal computer vendor in Japan last year with 13.9 percent of the market, according to Dataquest, a market research concern. NEC Corp. dominates the Japanese market.

Apple already has significant ties with Japanese companies. Sony Corp. is its largest supplier of components and Sharp Corp. manufac-

tures its hand-held Newton MessagePad computer. Apple also has joint development projects under way with Toshiba Corp. and Kyushu Matsushita Electric Co.

Gates Complains to China

Bill Gates, chairman of Microsoft Corp., took issue with the government of China on Tuesday for not letting the market dictate software standards, Reuters reported from Beijing.

Mr. Gates said he was confident the huge untapped Chinese market, if given the choice, would embrace a new Chinese version of Microsoft Windows as a standard for desktop computer software.

TRADE: Steps Against Low-Wage Nations Weighed

Continued from Page 1

feet on the question of linking workers' rights with trade. Germany is increasingly opposed to forcing a social clause into trade negotiations.

Günter Rexrodt, Germany's economic minister, last week said talk about workers' rights could lead to a new protectionism. A German official said Bonn feared the World Trade Organization would be "overloaded" with responsibility for social and environmental issues.

Sir Leon's position differs from the French approach, according to a European Commission official, "because we are not launching a

crusade to rob low-wage countries of their competitive advantage." Instead, the official said, "the objective is a leveling of workers' rights."

The official said Sir Leon's paper would outline options such as asking the International Labor Organization, a UN agency, to report on suspected breaches in order to examine them in a multilateral forum, rather than implementing immediate trade sanctions on the offending country.

Dennis MacShane, an officer at the Geneva-based International Metalworkers Federation, noted that the desire for fair labor conditions in emerging economies had brought together governments with different agendas. He said, however, that action was needed because "Asia is now the low-wage, uniform, socially unaccountable playground for any European company that no longer wants to meet its social responsibilities, and that puts a question mark over every manufacturing job in Europe."

Mr. MacShane said the federation had brought several complaints to the International Labor Organization about Malaysia's refusal to permit national trade unions in the electronics sector. The ILO confirmed it was examining the complaints but stressed that Malaysia had not ratified the relevant workers' rights convention

and thus could not be forced to act.

In France, many in industry strongly support a clause that could penalize their low-cost competitors in Asia and elsewhere. Paul Rechter, a spokesman for the employers' federation, the CNPF, said, "The problem of social dumping affects all of us, as it means very cheap prices for certain products at the expense of European jobs."

Mr. MacShane noted, for example, that Thomson Consumer Electronics, a unit of the Thomson group of France, now has more employees in Malaysia than it does in France.

Some officials involved in the debate say pressure is being brought on the World Trade Organization because the ILO has failed to take sufficient action. In a book to be published this week, Bill Brett, a vice chairman of the governing body of the ILO, writes that the labor organization needs to work jointly with the new world trade group to draw up an effective mechanism.

But Michel Hansenne, the ILO's director-general, rejected criticism of the organization, saying it did not have powers to introduce any sanctions.

"If there is an agreement at the international level," he said, "we will be happy to work with the World Trade Organization."

STANDARDS: Asians Warned

Continued from Page 11

meeting in Kuala Lumpur of the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council attended by about 400 officials, business leaders and academics from Australia, Brunei, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, South Korea, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Peru, the Philippines, Russia, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand, the United States and the South Pacific island states.

East Asian officials said U.S. threats to withdraw trade privileges from China over its human-rights record and from Indonesia for allegedly failing to protect workers' rights appeared linked to concerns in France and other European Union member nations about unfair competition from Asia.

They said any attempt by the West to impose new international standards for wages, work and environmental conditions was a disguised form of protectionism and would be strongly resisted.

"We have to draw the line now," Noordin Sopiee, the Malaysian

chairman of the council, said in an interview.

Mr. Noordin said the EU had told Southeast Asian nations that "not having a welfare state is an unfair trade practice." He added: "They call it social dumping. We are dumping because our workers will accept lower wages and work longer hours and sweat and toil, whereas theirs won't."

Ministers from more than 100 countries are to meet in Marrakesh, Morocco, in mid-April to ratify the Uruguay Round global trade pact that was concluded in December. They will also begin discussing issues for inclusion in the next round.

Mr. Dadzie said there was "a real danger" that the new trade agenda would be dominated by issues such as low wages, labor rights and environmental protection.

He said East Asian nations should take preemptive action by giving all developing countries easier access to their markets and by increasing their purchases of Eastern Europe's exports — more than half of which currently go to the 12 EU nations.

NYSE

Tuesday's Closing

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

(Continued)

12 Month High Low Stock Div Yld PE 1993 High Low Latest Chg

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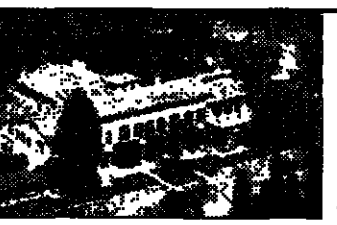
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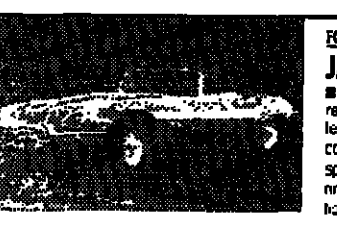
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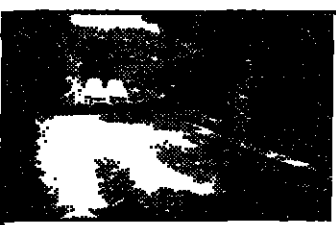
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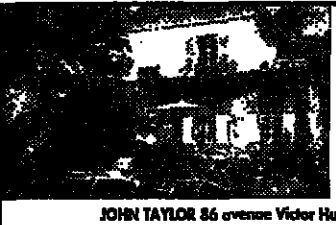
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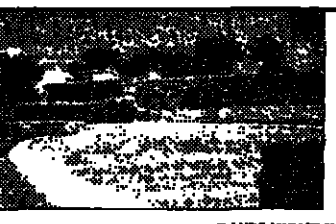
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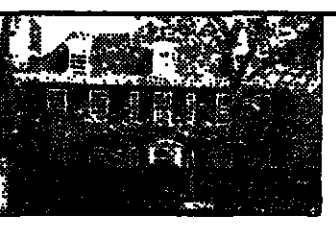
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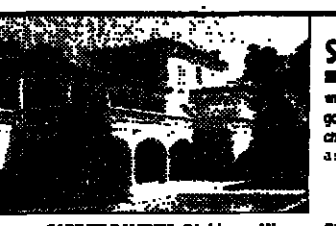
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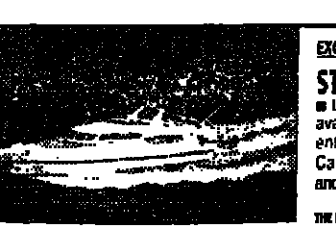
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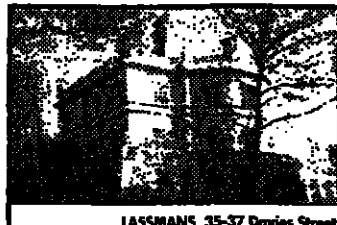
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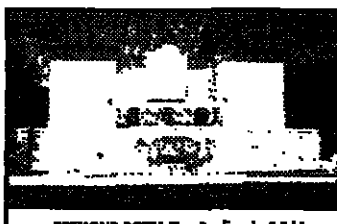
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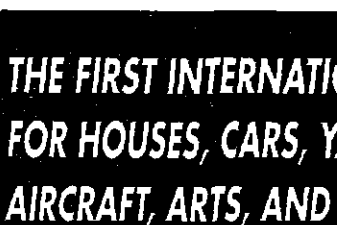
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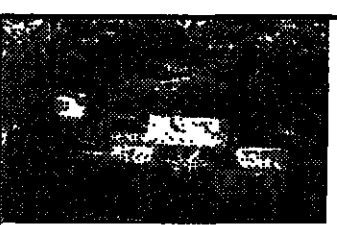
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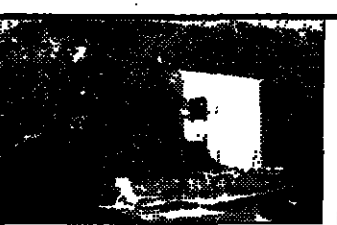
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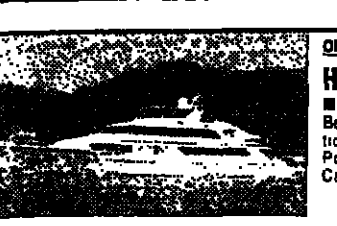
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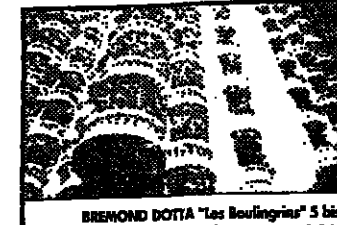
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BUSINESS & TRADE OPPORTUNITIES

Asia/Pacific

ASIA'S SUCCESS STORY: WILL IT LAST?

Asia-Pacific's astonishing economic success — especially its rapid industrial growth and export expansion over the last 30 years — has been nurtured by low-cost labor, flexible work forces and rapidly rising skill levels. The critical question now is whether that growth can be maintained. Growth rates in Asia are certainly impressive. North Asian economies, excluding Japan's, are forecast to expand by about 8 percent this year. The six ASEAN nations — Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and the Philippines — will grow at roughly 7 percent, well above the 3.2 percent growth rate anticipated for North America this year. When Japan is figured into the North Asian equation, however, the expected growth rate falls to a modest 4 percent, more in line with other parts of the world.

History tells us that ultra-high growth rates cannot be maintained forever. Decades ago, Japan realized that domestic low-end manufacturing was no longer feasible. It was just getting too expensive to produce cheap plastic and electronics goods at home. As a result, many Japanese companies began moving their production facilities to less developed countries like Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore.

As these "Little Dragon" economies matured in the 1980s — with a steep upward spiral in local labor costs — there was a "knock-down" effect to countries like Thailand, Indonesia and Malaysia.

Now, a decade later, Asia is starting to see another wave of movement, with labor-intensive industries relocating to places like Vietnam, China and India, where manufacturing costs are still remarkably low.

An abundance of cheap labor has been the key to Asia's success from the very start. It is estimated that the average cost of labor is \$20 per hour in Western Europe, \$19 per hour in North America (excluding Mexico), \$18 per hour in Japan, but only \$1.65 in the rest of Asia.

There are now signs that some Asian economies are following in the footsteps of Japan. Wages have risen substantially, for example, in several countries. In South Korea, the pay packet rose from 25 percent to 45 percent of gross domestic product between 1964 and 1990; in Singapore, wages grew from 35 percent to 45 percent of GDP between 1974 and 1990.

The population figures indicate that Asia will probably maintain its cheap-labor edge: The continent had an estimated 3 billion people in 1991, a whopping 56 percent of the global family, and less-developed countries have the biggest population pools: China (1.1 billion), India (886 million) and Indonesia (195 million).

It is more than sheer numbers that keeps Asia's labor cheap. In many Asian countries, there is very little emphasis on factors such as labor laws, safety, pollution control, disability or retirement payments — all of which add to the cost of industry and commerce in North America, Europe and Japan.

Even in countries where wages are rising, however, there are other factors that will continue to propel above-average economic growth.

Professor Lim Chong Yah of Singapore's Nanyang Technological University has cited several factors to explain the strong economic performance of South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore: stable, development-orient-

ed governments; sufficient labor and land; accumulation of personal savings; market-driven, outward-looking economic systems; and atmospheres conducive to private investment.

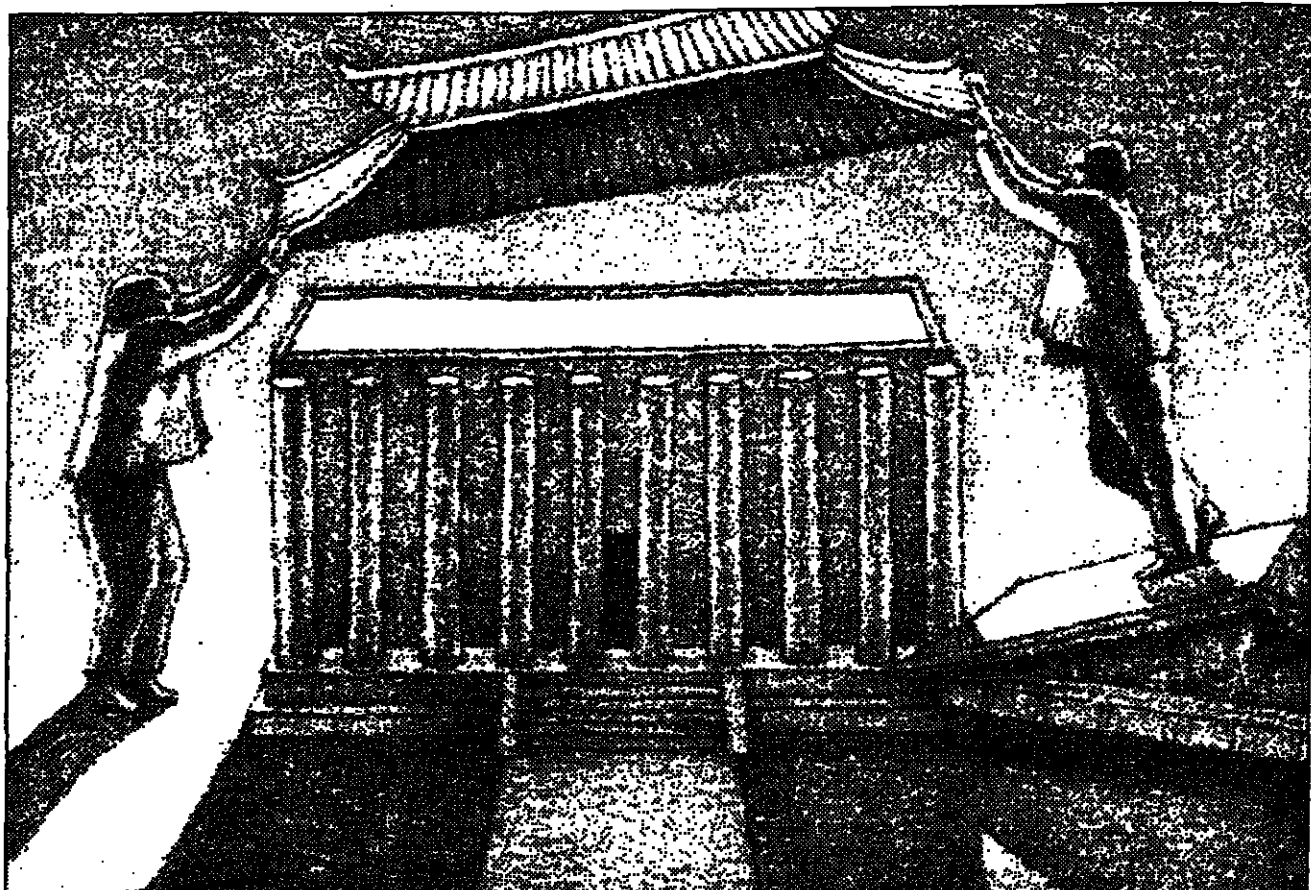
Another factor is that governments of the region do not shy away from working hand-in-hand with private enterprise to plot economic strategies and gain entrance to overseas markets.

Traditional Asian values have also provided a solid foundation for the region's economic success. A number of leaders are beginning to talk about an Asian political and economic philosophy that combines ancient Asian values and certain aspects of Western democracy and capitalism.

There are other reasons why Asia may not fall prey to cyclical business downturns. Many Asian governments actively encourage their populations to buy shares, thereby becoming stakeholders in the country (Singapore's 50.5-percent share ownership is said to be the world's highest). Many governments also encourage performance-based bonuses, even among members of the civil service.

There is also a general attitude in the region that the local press should be kept on a short leash, not necessarily becoming merely a government mouthpiece — which is still the case in places like China and Vietnam — but remaining less inflammatory than in the West.

Meanwhile, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) recently announced three reasons why the Dynamic Asian Economies (DAEs) of Singapore, Hong Kong, South Korea, Taiwan, Malaysia and Thailand continue to thrive: China's double-digit growth



Building on Western ideas, the Asian way: Eastern values may account for the success of the Dynamic Asian Economies.

rate; rising real wages resulting from labor shortages caused by the export boom of the late 1980s; and government expenditure on infrastructure projects throughout the region that help to boost domestic consumption.

The OECD warned that while DAEs will certainly lead global growth until the end of next year, uncertainty may ensue if China institutes severe austerity measures to cool its overheated economy. Given the level of invest-

ment in China from other parts of Asia, any slowdown in China could have a dramatic effect throughout the region.

At the same time, rapidly aging populations and environmental problems are likely to put severe strains on regional economies. Another factor that could have a negative impact on Asian economies is what Anwar Ibrahim, Malaysia's deputy prime minister, calls "rampant consumerism and greed," fueled by rapid growth and rising expect-

tations among the middle class. In Malaysia and elsewhere, many middle-class consumers have a sense of entitlement — with the economy booming, they do not feel they should have to scrimp and save any longer.

Mr. Anwar tells Malaysians they should learn from Japan and exercise restraint in sectors where greed can create a fragile "bubble economy" that can easily burst and stymie growth.

Joseph R. Yogerst

Can you simplify
the global exchange
of technology?

Technology transfer is like teaching: it's best done face-to-face.

When Thailand legislated that industrial users had to supply

their own electricity substations, the local economy didn't

have the know-how. ABB's worldwide power distribution group reacted

with a swift hands-on transfer of technology. A "Tiger Team" of technicians

flew in from Scandinavia and Saudi Arabia, teaming up with Thai engineers

to share skills and experience. Together they handled the first project for

the Thai Plastic Company. Next, ABB started local assembly and manu-

facture of switchgear, creating a whole new industry. Local firms now

supply parts and plant — steel structures and cables — previously imported.

The "Tiger Team" remains involved in information exchange, but now the

students are teachers, too.

As a leader in electrical engineering for the generation, transmission and

distribution of power, and in industry and transportation, ABB is com-

mitted to industrial and ecological efficiency worldwide. We transfer

know-how across borders with ease. But in each country, ABB operations

are local and flexible. That means we are close at hand to help our

Yes, you can. customers reply swiftly and surely to technological challenges which

stretch the limits of the possible. Like promoting a local economy to the

head of world class technology.

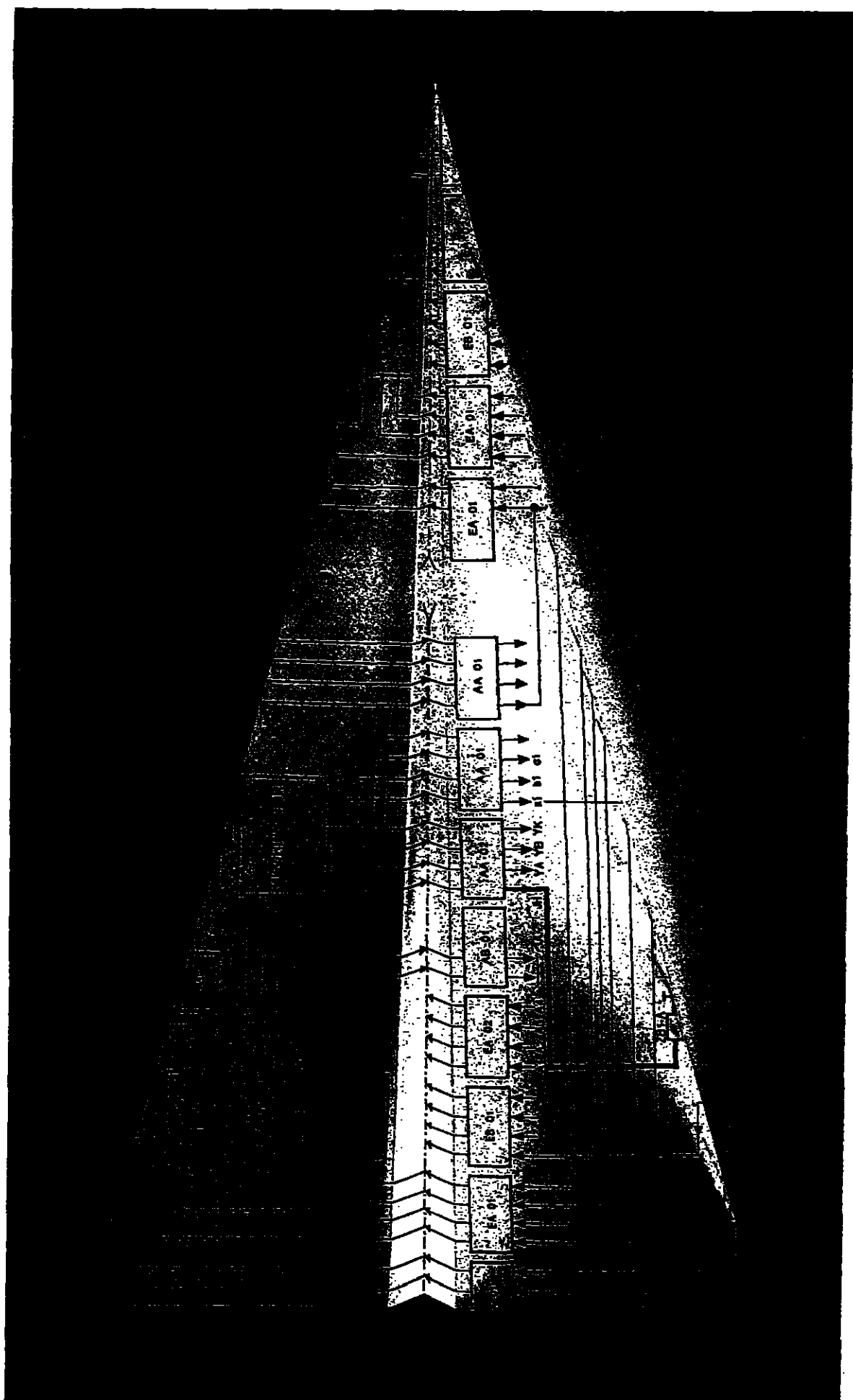


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ABB

مركز من الأخبار

SPORTS

Senate Hearing
On Baseball Inc.
Sets Off SparksBy Murray Chass
New York Times Service

ST. PETERSBURG, Fla. — A hearing into baseball's exemption from antitrust laws produced a prolonged and angry exchange between Bud Selig, the acting commissioner, and Senator Howard M. Metzenbaum, an Ohio Democrat, over the authority of the commissioner under the owners' restructuring of the office.

"The fact is he has more authority than he had in the past," Selig said in one exchange.

Metzenbaum, the chairman of the Senate antitrust subcommittee, repeatedly expressed the view that the owners have made the commissioner a "lackey."

"You don't have to be a genius, a Philadelphia lawyer, a Supreme Court justice to see that under this agreement you have degraded the office of the commissioner," Metzenbaum said.

"I disagree," Selig said. "I think I can read English," Metzenbaum replied harshly.

The session Monday was the second hearing that Metzenbaum has held on a bill he has introduced in the Senate that would strip baseball of the exemption the U.S. Supreme Court granted it in 1922. The exemption has enabled the owners, unlike their counterparts in other sports, to exercise control over such matters as numbers of franchises and their locations.

Selig spent most of the time parrying questions from Metzenbaum, but he also faced questioning from

Florida's two senators, Bob Graham and Connie Mack, primarily about expansion and the failure of this area to get a team either through expansion or when the San Francisco Giants were for sale in 1992.

Mack, however, zeroed in on one aspect of Selig's contention that the owners have strengthened the commissioner's authority. Mack asked Selig if the commissioner can be fired before his term is up.

"It's been left silent as it always was," Selig said.

But, Mack pressed on, saying, "It's our impression that it takes only a majority of teams to fire a commissioner but a two-thirds vote to dismiss a league president. That doesn't sound to me that there has been a real strengthening of the commissioner's office."

When Selig repeated that the restructuring report was silent on the issue, Mack alluded to Selig's repeated refrain that restructuring cleared up the ambiguities of the commissioner's role.

"This was an opportunity to clear up all the ambiguities," the Republican senator said.

"I think the restructuring committee felt this was the best way to handle it," Selig responded.

When the restructuring report was released last month — the owners approved it in January — the general assessment was that the document diluted the commissioner's powers. Selig was incredulous that anyone could think that and has steadfastly argued to the contrary.



TOP DANCERS — Oksana Grischuk and Yevgeni Plator of Russia, the Olympic ice-dancing champions, performing Tuesday at the world championships in Chiba, Japan. They led after two compulsory dances. Their compatriots Yevgenia Shishkova and Vadim Bushkov led the pairs.

At Play on the Fields of War

International Herald Tribune

LONDON — A soccer game played beneath skies patrolled by fighter planes does not signify peace in Sarajevo. But as a symbol of hope — an expression of free movement in a place where weeks ago only the brave, the desperate or the dead were on the streets — 20,000 Sarajevoans roaring their throats dry in the Kosovo Stadium on Sunday did represent triumph.

Sports that day was high on symbolism, low on equality, as FC Sarajevo beat a United Nations Protection Force team, 4-0. That the UN defenses were not up to the job was of no consequence. Even Serbs watching from their lookouts in the hills must have seen how Sarajevo tried to take things easy on its protection by fielding a B team of young players rather than its front-line soccer pros.

Those professionals, deemed important enough to Bosnia to have been maintained as a team abroad for much of last year, would, it is reckoned, have embarrassed the servicemen by 16 goals.

Nevertheless, with soccer in the blood of so many former Yugoslavs of all origins, it is not surprising that the Sarajevo kids brought out of hiding ran rings around UN volunteers, whose day and night priority is trying to prevent "ethnic cleansing."

A cynic, maybe even a realist, might ask what relevance a sporting hour has to a hell on earth. For even while the match was played, more UN troops uncovered a cache of heavy Serbian weapons inside the nearby exclusion zone.

Let the man who put on the game answer that. Inside Kosovo Stadium, itself by the shells of war, Lieutenant General Michael Rose, commander of the UN force in Bosnia, said on Sunday: "It is almost a miracle to see people who have spent 22 months living in the most horrific circumstances, throughout a civil war in which over 9,000 people have been killed, of whom 2,000 were children, able to come here and do the thing they love most, which is to watch football."

Rose is no soft idealist. He is a man of war, a soldier whose ultimatums of military intervention and air strikes appear, so far, to carry the uncompromising tones that aggressors understand.

HOW TEMPTING to recall that soccer euphoria broke the curfew under which Argentines had been repressed until 1978. Then, because the generals who ruled the country miscalculated and were allowed to stage a World Cup there, the people came out in their millions, never to be shut away again.

How fitting it would be if Sarajevo 1994 similarly makes soccer the excuse, the catalyst, for normal civility. Rose apparently believes the peace process is irreversible.

He said as much at the stadium where British Harriers and Jaguars flew past, where four British paratroopers dropped in, where a 38-strong regimental band of the Coldstream Guards, in full ceremonial regalia, was flown in from Buckingham Palace.

Was it all just a terribly British thing to do? Soccer on the killing fields dates to early in World War I, when, on Christmas Day 1914, British and German

troops laid down their arms and laid into one another in an impromptu game in no-man's-land.

After soccer, the players went back to the war. Rose will be hoping for a more permanent truce, hoping the sentiments of Sunday more closely reflect Beirut in the spring of 1993.

There, soccer was used to convey the message that everyone had had enough after 17 years of self-destructive religious and ethnic civil war. As in Bosnia these past 22 months, Beirut was a place where men would steal time out to meet with their mates and play this daft, addictive, all pervasive sport.

The Lebanese play soccer as passionately, but not as bewitchingly well, as the Yugoslavs. And when Serbs, Croats, Macedonians, Montenegrins and Bosnians were a united team they were capable of taking on anyone in the world two years ago.

Their game was intrinsically fine, curiously lacking in aggressiveness. But the savagery of the fighting in their homelands leaves no room for romantic notions of that team being pieced together again in this sporting generation.

Soccer cannot begin to be viewed as an alternative to war. Yet the last Yugoslav team, captained by Faruk Hadzibegic, a Bosnian Muslim, blended skills from the now divided ethnic regions, skills personified in Robert Prosinecki, who has one parent from Serbia, one from Croatia.

If Prosinecki, now of Real Madrid, plays for any nation in the forthcoming European Championship matches, it will be Croatia, which is grouped with Italy, Ukraine, Lithuania, Estonia and Slovenia.

What a side Croatia has on paper. There is Alen Boksaic, the ghosting goalscorer currently employed by Lazio of Rome. There are Zvonimir Boban (AC Milan), Zoran Ban (Juventus) and Robert Jarni (Torino). There are seven Croatians playing for clubs in Spain, two in Germany, others in Portugal, Austria and Belgium.

ALL ONCE were the blue shirts of Yugoslavia and while it may not be politically correct to say so, from which ever side of the lines they hail most, those footballers appreciate the celebration of Sunday's game.

Bosnians among them will especially identify with the reported comment of Sadr Memisevic, 64, who said in the stadium: "I feel I have been born again. For two years I have been closed in by four walls. I had to get out to join the crowd."

The crowd, more than the match, was a momentous event in Sarajevo. And no doubt some thought back to June, when, at a residential area close to the airport, 200 people gathered at a soccer match on a Muslim holy day.

Thirteen people were killed and 80 were wounded by mortar fire. "The match wasn't a good idea," said one as a stretcher carried him away. "But no matter how many they kill, they will not kill our morale."

Sunday brought such emotions to the surface. I suggest soccer is unique in its ability to entice people across barriers. The recent Winter Olympics offered a moving tribute to Sarajevo's victims; soccer, once again, has a foothold on the higher claim that it is a trigger, or at least an instrument, of the peace.

Rob Hughes is on the staff of The Times.

SCOREBOARD

BASKETBALL

NBA Standings

EASTERN CONFERENCE

Atlantic Division

Team	W	L	Pct	GB
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New York	45	19	.703	
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Orlando	39	26	.600	1 1/2
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Miami	37	28	.569	2 1/2
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New Jersey	33	31	.516	12
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Boston	22	42	.344	23
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Philadelphia	21	43	.323	24 1/2
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Washington	19	47	.288	27
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Central Division

Atlanta	46	19	.708	
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Chicago	43	22	.662	3
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Cleveland	36	29	.554	10
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Indiana	36	29	.554	11
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Charlotte	28	35	.442	17
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Milwaukee	18	46	.282	27 1/2
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Detroit	18	47	.277	28
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Western Division

Team	W	L	Pct	GB
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Los Angeles	46	19	.708	
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San Antonio	43	22	.662	3
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Utah	40	24	.625	6
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Denver	32	30	.520	14 1/2
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Minnesota	18	47	.277	29
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Dallas	8	57	.121	39
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Pacific Division

Seattle	47	17	.734	
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Phoenix	42	22	.662	5
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Portland	39	27	.591	8
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Golden State	37	27	.576	10
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L.A. Lakers	27	37	.422	21
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L.A. Clippers	24	39	.381	25 1/2
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Sacramento	22	42	.344	28 1/2
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NHL Standings

EASTERN CONFERENCE

Atlantic Division

Team	W	L	T	Pts	GB
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N.Y. Rangers	44	22	6	94	
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New Jersey	41	21	11	93	1 1/2
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Washington	39	21	8	86	3
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Philadelphia	31	29	12	74	11
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Florida	31	29	12	74	11
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Pittsburgh	31	29	12	74	11
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Buffalo	31	29	12	74	11
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Montreal	30	28	12	72	1 1/2
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Boston	30	28	12	72	1 1/2
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Quebec	27	29	14	68	5 1/2
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Ottawa	24	31	15	63	10
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Western Division

Team	W	L	T	Pts	GB
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St. Louis	41	25	5	87	
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Calgary	37	27	8	82	5 1/2
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Vancouver	35	27	8	78	9 1/2
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San Jose	35	27	8	78	9 1/2
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Los Angeles	34	27	9	77	10 1/2
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Edmonton	20	41	12	52	26 1/2
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NHL Standings

Central Division

Team	W	L	T	Pts	GB
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St. Louis	41	25	5	87	
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Calgary	37	27	8	82	5 1/2
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Vancouver	35	27	8	78	9 1/2
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San Jose	35	27	8	78	9 1/2
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Los Angeles	34	27	9	77	10 1/2
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Edmonton	20	41	12	52	26 1/2
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NHL Standings

Pacific Division

Team	W	L	T	Pts	GB
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Seattle	47	17	1	95	
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Phoenix	42	22	2	86	9
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MONDAY'S RESULT

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